



Ingraven by M. Burgeses.

THE
FIFTH and LAST
VOLUME
OF
PLUTARCH'S
LIVES.

Translated from the Greek,
BY
SEVERAL HANDS.

LONDON:
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*A Chronological Table to the Fifth Volume of
Plutarch's Lives.*

	The <i>Julian</i> Period.		Before the coming of Christ.		After the Worlds Creation.		After the building of <i>Rome</i> .		The Year of the <i>Olympiad</i> .		The <i>Olympiad</i> .	
<i>Demetrius</i>	117	1	441	3638	310	4402						
<i>Antonius</i>	181	3	699	3896	52	4660						
<i>Aratus</i>	132	2	502	3699	249	4463						
<i>Artaxerxes</i>	94	4	352	3549	399	4313						
<i>Dion</i>	105	4	396	3593	355	4357						
<i>Marcus Brutus</i>	184	2	710	3907	41	4671						
<i>Demosthenes</i>	105	3	395	3592	356	4356						
<i>Cicero</i>	175	1	673	3870	708	4670						
<i>Galba</i>	211	4	820	4017	00	4781						
<i>Otho</i>	212	1	821	4018	00	4782						

DEMETRIUS.



(1)

THE
L I F E
O F
DEMETRIUS
POLIORCETES.

Rendred into *English*,
By JOHN. NALSON, L L. D.

VOLUME V.

I Ngenious men have frequently compared Arts and Learning to our Natural Sences; and doubtless they were induced to do so from that resemblance, which the one hath to the other

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in distinguishing between different objects : But still, we must allow the precedence to Learning and Knowledge ; for that the highest attainments of sense, arrive only to an Exact distinguishing between mean and Common Objects, as black and white, sweet and bitter, hot and Cold, soft and hard, and this too, in an humble subserviency to the Understanding, to which they make reports according to the different impressions which they do receive : Whereas skillful Arts and Sciences, having the more elevated advantages of Inquiry and Reasoning, do not only enable us to know what is most agreeable, but by a prudent foresight to abstain from what is Evil, and prevent what may be dangerous. Thus the Wise *Physitian* comes by his successful Art, not only to understand how to combat a present Distemper ; but to secure the Health of his Patients for the future ; and the artful *Musitian* does not only know how to avoid ungrateful discords, but even from those disagreeing Notes to compound a wondrous Harmony.

But above all, Temperance, Justice and Prudence, the noblest of all the Moral Virtues, do not only assist us which the knowledg of what is Honorable, Just and

and Good, but give us the Reverse of the contrary Vices, which ought to be avoided, as dishonest, unjust, and altogether disadvantageous to us : and even this sort of knowledg of what is evil, is so necessary to the Prudent conduct of humane Life, that without it, there would be no glory or virtue in abandoning those evils which we did not know ; since otherwayes it must be attributed to the stupid simplicity of ignorant Chance, and not to a wise and prudent choice. It was for this Reason, that the antient *Spartans* were used in their most celebrated festivals and entertainments, to load their * slaves which * *Hot. 15.* prodigal glasses, and then expose those drunken miserables to the publique view ; that so, the young Gentlemen of the City seeing the deformity, and antick dresses into which that transforming Vice degrades Humane Nature, they might at the expence of those poor wretches, imprint an early aversion to debauchery, in their tender minds, and tho' possibly it is but an indifferent method, nor very consistent with Humanity, to chastise vice in one, by forcing it upon another, yet it will not be unacceptable, amidst the great variety of examples in this Book, to

expose to the view of the World, some pairs of noble Lives, who being advanced in the triumphant Chariot of Sovereign Authority, have, by their own inconsiderate folly and imprudence, tumbled from the height of Fortune into great extremities; and thereby have made themselves great examples of the Impotence and danger of great vices, even in the greatest Men: there is a strange pleasure in variety, but yet I must averr, that my design is not only to divert the Fancy of the Reader, by shewing diversity of curious Figures, but to advantage him in the management of his own Affairs; to which nothing can contribute more, then the easy way of being wise and Virtuous at the expence of others Mens Misfortunes; for as *Ismenias*, the fam'd Theban Artist, was wont to shew his Schollars both the most excellent Masters in Musick and the veriest Bunglers in the Science, that so they might imitate the one, and despise the other; and *Antigenidas* was used to say, that such young Gentlemen as applied themselves to the attaining skill in Musick, would be more encouraged in their Industry by the pleasure they received from hearing sprightly Airs and Composures, after they had been

been first tired with the dull entertainments of Common and unskillful Musicians; so it appears highly reasonable, that the examples of those Lives, whose Vices and Follies have deservedly exposed them to the Censure of the whole vertuous World, should raise in us a Noble Emulation to imitate the glories of such others, as were the Illustrious Characters of Great and Good.

For this Reason, this Volume presents the Reader which the Lives of *Demetrius Poliorcetes*, and *Antonius the Triumvir*: Two Persons who have abundantly justified the opinion of the Divine *Plato*, that great Minds are apt to produce great virtues, and no less vices: And that they may not seem unequally Paired, these two great Persons were equally Amorous and Intemperate, Warlike and Manificent, Sumptuous in their way of of Living, and haughty in their enterprises and undertakings: Nor did Fortune seem to make any great disparity in their Destinies, for as during the whole course of their Lives, they were many times glorious and triumphant Victors; so were they also miserably vanquished; at one time they got much, at another they were forced to abandon all: sometimes they were tumbled

* Aflormer
of Cities.
*Expugnator
Urbium.*

down from the top of their glory, beyond even the Hope of almost a possible recovery, and on the sudden, beyond the expectancy of Imagination, raised again to their former Dignity and Dominions: nor were the Fatal periods of their Lives without a Resemblance, the one ending his unfortunate dayes in a deplorable captivity, and the other to avoid that lingring misfortune, taking Sanctuary in the Cold embraces of a voluntary Death.

Antigonus had by his Lady *Stratonice*, the beautiful daughter of *Correus*, two Sons, the one after the Name of his Uncle he called *Demetrius*, the other carried the name of his Grandfather *Philip*, and died young. This is the most authentick Account, although some have reported, that *Demetrius* was not the Son of *Antigonus*, but of his Brother; and that his own Father dying young and his mother being afterwards married to *Antigonus* he was pleased to adopt him his Son.

The Description
of
Prince De-
metrius.

Demetrius, who was one of the goodliest Princes of the World, tho' he was not altogether so tall as his Father *Antigonus*, yet he was of the largest proportion of men; but withal he had a Face so delicate and exact, that the most

curious

curious Painter or Graver, was notable to form any *Idea*, out of his own Imagination, comparable to those sweetneses, which every feature of his inimitable Face had only peculiar to it self: there was something, one knows not how to express it, so soft, and yet so fierce, that it did at the same time appear both charmingly tender, and Imperiously astonishing; challenging both an irresistibile veneration, and a passionate kindness; such a mixture of Majesty, Youth, beauty and vivacities, as gave him one of the most August and Noble Airs in the World. Nor did his outward adornments at all contradict the inward Inclinations of his nature, for there was no person who had so great an Art to render himself both lov'd and fear'd; for as he was the most easie and agreeable person in his conversation, the most splendid in his entertainments, and in short, one who indulged himself and his friends the utmost liberty and freedoms in the enjoyment of his pleasures, so was he, of all the Princes of his age, the most vigilant, dextrous, and addressful in the prosecution of his martial affairs; so that his whole life seemed divided between the Love of pleasure and glory; herein proposing to himself the

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example of *Bacchus*, the Divinity he chiefly adored, equally famous for his successful achievements in the time of Action, and his luxuriant gaieties in the Leisure of Peace.

He was a most passionate lover of his Father *Antigonus*, and the natural tenderness and deference which he had for his Mother obliged him, for her sake, to redouble that love, which it was evident was not so much owing to fear, or barely Duty, as the more powerful ties of choice and Inclination : Insomuch that it is reported, that returning one day from hunting, he went up immediately into the Apartment of *Antigonus*, who had newly given Audience to certain foreign Embassadors, and after he had made his Obeysance to *Antigonus*, who tenderly caressed and kissed him, he reposed himself upon one of the chairs, still holding the Javelins in his hand, which he had brought with him from the chase ; whereupon *Antigonus*, who had just dispatched the Embassadors, commanded them to be again introduced, and shewing them his Son in that free posture and equipage, *You may, my Lords*, said he, *if you so please, relate to your Masters, above what you have already received in Commission, after what*
ma-

manner of unjealous freedom, my Son and I live together : By this Action informing them, that this was no slender mark of the power and security of this Government, where there was so perfect a good Understanding between the Prince reigning and his Heir apparent ; and that whereas commonly unfociable Majestic is surrounded with Armed Guards, and inward jealousies and distrusts, it was the glory of the Greatest of all the Successors of the mighty *Alexander*, that he had the happiness to be so perfectly assured of his son, that he could without difficulty permit him the freedom of coming thus Armed into his presence. And to speak the truth, among all the Successors of *Alexander*, that of *Antigonus*, was the only House, which for many descents was exempted from blushing, with the shedding of their own Royal blood : and whereas in this illustrious Family, only *Philip* was guilty of the death of his son, all the rest afforded frequent examples of Fathers who brought their Children, Husbands their wives, Children their Parents, to untimely Funerals ; and for the Brothers to dispatch each other was so common, that as Mathematicians lay down to themselves certain first Principles,

ples, so this was esteemed by them as a *Maxim*, to assure themselves of the Royal Diadem, by sacrificing their Brothers to the fears and jealousies of their proving dangerous Rivals to their Sovereignty.

But that we may the better understand the excellent temper of the young *Demetrius*, and what just and honorable sentiments, even his early years had for his Friendships, we must recount an odd adventure which passed betwixt him and *Mithridates* the son of *Ariobarzanes*; this young Prince, who was about the same age with *Demetrius*, was educated in the Court of *Antigonus*; and although he had the Reputation of an innocent and undesigning person, yet could he not avoid falling into the displeasure of *Antigonus*, who became extremely suspicious of him by reason of a Dream which he had one night concerning him; for in his sleep, Imagination, which then most abusively plays the wanton with us, when she has put all our senses, the servants of reason, into their downy manacles, presented *Antigonus* with this Fantastique scene, He thought himself in a fair and spacious Field, where he sowed Golden seed, from whence he saw a most wondrous

The Dream
of *Antigonus*
concerning
Mithridates.

drous crop of that shining Metal immediately to spring, and successively to grow up to that maturity to hang its ripened heads, ready to bow to the fatal stroke of the sickle; that shortly after, returning in high expectancy to reap the tempting Harvest, he found it all cut down, and nothing left but chaff and stubble; whereupon extremely discontented at the unexpected disappointment, he thought he overheard certain persons discoursing that it was *Mithridates*, who having reaped the Golden Harvest, was returned with it into the Kingdom of *Pontus*. *Antigonus*, strangely perplexed which this Dream, relates it to the Prince, and having first obliged him, by what ever was sacred, not to discover his intention, acquaints him which the Resolution he he had taken against the life of *Mithridates*. *Demetrius* was most sensibly touched with this cruel resolution of *Antigonus* against an Innocent Prince, his Familiar, his Confident, Companion, and Friend, and not knowing how to manage himself with Innocence, betwixt his Friendship to the Prince, and his promise to his Father; but the next morning *Mithridates* coming according to his custom to divert himself with *Demetrius*,
he

he drew him aside from the Company, and without opening his lips, with the point of his Javelin he traced these few words in the Dust, obliging *Mithridates* to read them, *fly instantly, and save your Life; Dear Mithridates*, and without further notice, putting them out with his foot, they returned to their Company, and pursued their accustom'd Divertisements and Sports.

Mithridates, who was very apprehensive, easily perceived by this Artifice that something fatal was determined against him by *Antigonus*; and therefore secretly taking Post that very Night, he quitted the Court, and made his Escape into *Capadocia*; where resolving to be revenged of *Antigonus* for this intended Perfidie, he immediately raised a numerous Army, and not long after accomplished the Dream of *Antigonus*, whom, by the force of his Armies, he despoiled of many large Provinces and Territories; and by his great successes Established the Royal House of *Pontus*. The last of his Race and Name, and the eight in lineal succession from him, being that unfortunate *Mithridates* King of *Pontus*, whose destiny so lately made an addition to the Triumphs, of the irresistible *Roman* Eagles.

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This may serve for a specimen of the Early and uncommon Generosity and Honour of *Demetrius*; but it was not long before his boyling youth, transported with the ardent desire of Fame and Glory, met with greater occasions of signalizing his Courage and his Arms; for as *Empedocles* wittily observed, that there was a continual hostility among the four Elements which Compose the Universe, every one of them still combating with his Neighbour, and all of them continually striving to enlarge the boundaries of their Empires; so did it happen among the potent Successors of the great *Alexander*, betwixt whom, especially those whose Dominions lay contiguous, there was an Eternal Jealousie, and almost perpetual Wars: For *Antigonus*, who kept his Residence in the Metropolis of *Phrygia*, being advertised that his Neighbour *Ptolomy*, having passed from the Island of *Cyprus*, did with a potent Army invade *Syria*, and had reduced most of the considerable places in that Country under his Obedience, either by force or Composition; he dispatched his Son *Demetrius*, not then much above the Age of twenty two years, at the head of a Gallant Army, to arrest the successes of the Victorious *Ptolomy*: This was the first time

time, that he had appeared in Arms as an Absolute General and Commander; and our young Captain, whose heat was something too disproportionate to his Conduct, with mighty Eagerness and hasty Marches, advances with his Army to seek his Enemy; and receiving intelligence that *Ptolomy* was with all his Forces late down before *Gaza*, he marched directly thither; upon his approach *Ptolomy* drew off his Army from the Siege, being as willing as *Demetrius* was hasty to put the matter to the fatal decision of the Sword: But here Fortune, who was betimes resolved to shew her instability, was not at all Propitious to *Demetrius*; for after a Cruel Battle, which was obstinately maintained by *Demetrius* with the loss of five thousand of the most Valliant of his Soldiers, he was compelled to resign the Victory and the field to *Ptolomy*, who took besides eight thousand Prisoners, all his Arms, Carriages, Ammunition, and his Camp, which was exceeding Rich: Nor was it at all strange, that a young Prince of so slender Experience in military affairs, should be vanquished by an Old beaten Captain in the Trade of War, and one trained up under the Discipline of *Alexander*, by whose prodigious Fortune
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even victory herself seemed to be overcome, and to submit her self tamely to his conquering Arms. However *Ptolomy*, who was as truly generous as he was great, made a most honourable use of this advantage, for he immediately returned all the Rich spoils of the Field, together with the enlarged Prisoners, which this Complement to *Demetrius*, That he had not combated with him for Riches, but for Glory and Empire.

Demetrius was infinitely surpris'd at this unexpected generosity, and one might see the warm blood mount into his Face, to be a second time vanquished by this obliging civility of *Ptolomy*, which was more insupportable then what he had suffered by his Arms, but as soon as he had a little recovered the disorder, into which this Action had put him, *May the Gods*, cried he, *accord me this only bounty, that I may not long be indebted to Ptolomy, but that it may one day come within my Power to return him the same Complement and favour, which he hath now put upon me.*

It might well be expected the disgrace of this disaster, to be defeated in the very first enterprize of his Arms, would have cooled the courage of
of

of our young Warriour; and possibly few persons of his Age, would have been able to support such a notable Overthrow, with so much Temper: but *Demetrius*, who was a very extraordinary person, demeaned himself upon this Occasion even to admiration; rather like an old Captain who had been long acquainted with the traverses of a capricious and inconstant Fortune, than a young and unexperienced Prince: for he set himself, which all the application imaginable, to provide Arms and Magazines; to rally his dispersed Troops, to reinforce them with Recruits, and to exercise his new Levies in the discipline of War, he strengthened all the considerable Garrisons, and with unwearied diligence performed all the Duties of an expert General, and by his example infused new Life and Courage into the hearts of his Soldiers, in so much that they, who before were almost ready to present the Conqueror which the Keys of those Cities which they were to defend, now put on Resolutions, not to part with an inch of Ground, which *Ptolomy* should not purchase with the hazard of his Life. When the news of this Defeat was brought to *Antigonus*, he received it with-

without any greater emotion, then saying, *Ptolomy* has indeed got a Victory over a Company of Youths, but ere long he shall find, that he must combat with Men: intimating, that shortly he would undertake the management of the War in his own person. But *Demetrius* sending to beg the favour of him, that he might once more throw the Dye of War, and Command the Army against *Ptolomy*: *Antigonus* who feared least the disgrace of being denied, might more abate the Courage of the Prince than the loss of the former Battel, sent him a new Commission to execute the Office of an absolute General.

Not long after *Cilles*, *Ptolomies* Lieutenant General with a powerful Army took the Field, and looking upon *Demetrius*, since his last overthrow, as the Commander of a baffled and half vanquished Army, he had in his imagination driven him out of *Syria*, before he saw him: but he quickly found himself deceived; for *Demetrius* by hasty marches came so unexpectedly upon him, that he surprized the General and his Army, making him, and 7000 of the principal Officers and Soldiers, prisoners of War, before they heard of any approaching Enemy: the whole

C Booty

Booty of the Camp, which was very rich, fell likewise into his hands; but it was not that which gave *Demetrius* any satisfaction, comparable to the pleasure which he took, when, by this advantage, he found himself in a Condition to be generously revenged upon *Ptolomy* for his last obliging courtesie: However, *Demetrius* in this affair was resolved to comport himself according to his Duty, and therefore he dispatch'd an Express to *Antigonus* to give him an account of this good Fortune, and to receive his directions and commands, how to dispose of his Conquest. *Antigonus*, who was most surprizingly transported with Joy at this unexpected news, and not less at the Noble Inclinations of his Son, immediately returned him in Answer, that he left him intirely at his own Freedom and Discretion, to make what Use he pleased of the Victory which he had gain'd. *Demetrius* was even ravished with contentment at this Commission, which was so agreeable to his wishes; and therefore sending for *Cilles*, he not only gave him his own, and the Liberty of all the Prisoners, but dismiss'd them laden with magnificent presents, and the Admiration of his Generosity; desiring

Cilles

Cilles to oblige him with carrying this message to *Ptolomy*, That he made him that small present, in return of the Favours he had received from him at Gaza.

This defeat was so closely followed by *Demetrius*, that in a little time he obliged *Ptolomy* to abandon Syria; and having resettled the affairs of that Province, he hastened to return into the Arms of his Father, who then kept his Residence at *Celene*: So soon as *Antigonus* was advertised of his approach, he had not the patience to attend the short delay of his coming, but which a noble Train he immediately left the City, and went to meet the Prince; and with what caresses and indearments such an indulgent Father entertained a Son so hopeful and promising, is difficult to imagine, but impossible to express; but he conducted him home in great triumph, amidst a thousand acclamations and other signs of joy, which seemed to be owing rather to his safe return than the prosperous success of his Arms.

But it was not long before *Antigonus* was forced to lose the satisfaction of his Conversation; being obliged to send him to reduce the *Nabathean Arabians* to their Obedience: and in this Expedition *Demetrius* ran one of the

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greatest hazards of his whole Life; for the Wild *Arabs*, decoyed him into those parched Deserts, which afforded no manner of subsistence, nor so much as a drop of water to refresh his Army; and having reduced him to this extremity, they drew up their forces to give him Battel: But when those barbarous people observed the courage and resolution of the Prince, and that he was so far from being in the least daunted at their approach, that he rather seemed to flie like a hungry Lion upon the prey, as if he had resolved to quench the thirst of his Soldiers with the blood of his Enemies, they were so astonished, that consulting their fear, they thought it fitter to commit their safety to their heels than hands, and therefore with great precipitation and disorder, they quitted the field, leaving *Demetrius* not only possessed of the Victory, but of a very considerable Booty, among the rest 700. Camels with all their Lading of Water and other provisions, with which he refreshed his Army, and safely retreated out of that scorched Country, more barbarous than its wild Inhabitants.

Not long after, *Seleucus*, whom *Antigonus*

tigonus had formerly chased out of *Babylon*, having raised all the forces he was able, with his Army invested that mighty City, and without much resistance, made himself Master of it, and elevated with this success, he pushed on his good Fortune, and marched against the Countries next adjacent to Mount *Caucasus*, and the neighbouring *Indies*, hoping to subdue those Regions, and range them under his Dominion and Obedience.

Demetrius being advertised of this Expedition of *Seleucus*, and conjecturing, that he had left *Mosopotamia* but slenderly guarded in his absence, he passed the *Euphrates*, with his Army, with such secrecy and expedition, that with his whole power he had invested *Babylon*, before they had heard of the march of his Troopes. He immediately commanded an atackue to be made upon one of the Cittadels, which *Seleucus* had raised for the security of that important place, which was performed with that vigor and resolution, that he carried the Fort; but finding himself not in a Condition to master the City he left 7000. Men in Garrison in the Fortrefs, and with the gross of his army retreated homewards; but in his return

he gave his Soldiers the liberty to live at discretion, who in their march took from the Inhabitants of those Countries, through which they passed, whatsoever they thought fit; by which ill treatment of those People, though he did extremely enrich his Army, yet he impoverished his own Reputation, and lost the affections of those Countries who ever after, by the ill usage they received from *Demetrius*, were the more firmly devoted to the Obedience of *Seleucus*, to whom he seemed to yield the Title of their Sovereign, by treating them like Enemies, and not his own Subjects.

In his return having received Information that *Ptolomy* laid close Siege to the City of *Halicarnassus*, he marched directly thither, and obliging him in some disorder to decamp, and retire from before it, he delivered that City from an imminent danger, and by his Expedition and success in that Action, brought a great Addition to the Reputation and Glory of his Arms.

And now *Demetrius*, burning with the ardent desire of Glory, had fixed his Designs upon an enterprize, which was suitable both to his own, and the Inclinations of his Father *Antigonus*; and

and that was to break the Yoke of slavery, which *Cassander* and *Ptolomy* had laid upon the neck of the little *Grecian* Commonwealths, and to render those Countries Masters of their ancient Laws of Freedom; and certainly never any Princes undertook a War more generous and brave, since the only motive that induced them to it, was the glory to restore their Freedom to the miserable *Grecians*, and that they undertook it wholly at their own charges, and with the treasure which they had recovered from barbarous Nations, they attempted the assistance of the most civilized and learned, tho' most oppressed People of the World. To effect this great Design, it was resolved, at a Council of War, that the first attempt should be made upon the City of *Athens*; upon the debate of which point, when one of the great Captains gave his opinion, that if they could make themselves Masters of that City they ought to keep it in their own possession, for that it would serve them as a Bridge, over which they might at discretion, pass into the rest of *Greece*; *Antigonus* most generously as well as prudently replied, that the surest Bridge to pass over upon such

an Enterprize was the Hearts and Inclinations of the People, which would most assuredly be lost, if that City were kept; and that *Athens* being one of the most celebrated *Accademies* of the World, one ought to offer nothing prejudicial to that Repository of Arts and Learning, if, at least, they consult their own future reputation, which must in time to come be measured by those accounts, which from thence would be delivered to Posterity.

Demetrius, who had raised a Fond of five Thousand Talents to defray the charges of this War, having with great applications rigged and equipped a Fleet of two hundred and fifty Gallies, he weighed Anchor, and the Wind standing fair, he steered a direct course to the City of *Athens*, where at that time *Demetrius Phalerens* who commanded as Deputy Governour under *Cassander*, had his residence, and had placed a strong Garrison in the Fortrefs of *Munychæa*. Upon the twenty fifth of May, the Wind freshing up into a brisk Gale, and *Demetrius*, who was resolved to improve the Favour which Fortune seemed to lend him, by the addition of Artifice, hanging out *Ptolomies* Flag, bore directly in for the *Pyræum* or Port of the

City

City: The Centinels, who descryed the the Fleet at some distance, made no doubt but that they Friends, were nor was the Error discovered till it was too late. It may well be imagined, that this surprize put the Captain of *Cassanders* Gallies, and the whole Garrison into such great confusions and disorders, as usually happen upon such approaches of an unexpected Enemy; and while they were preparing to make the best defence and opposition, which the suddenness of the Accident would permit, *Demetrius* who perceived the Mouth of Haven defenceless and open, stood in directly into the Port: as soon as he was entred, mounting upon the Poope of the Admiral Gally, and making a signal with his hand, that he had something to say, he caused a *Herald* with a loud voice to make Proclamation, that he was come thither with that mighty Fleet, by the Command of his Father, but with no other Design then what he prayed the Gods to prosper with success proportionable to his pious Intention, which was to deliver them from the oppression of *Cassander*; to chase out that Armed force, by which he held them in a cruel Subjection, and to restore to them the freedom of their ancient Laws and Government.

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The People hearing this, presently threw down their Arms, and clapping their hands, with loud acclamations of Joy they immediately intreated *Demetrius* to land, calling him their Deliverer and Benefactor, and assuring him of a Welcom entertainment. This suddain revolt of the Citizens of obliged *Phalerius*, who saw it impossible to resist, to send certain of his Officers to *Demetrius*, to request from him, upon his Surrender, honourable Usage and Protection from the outrages of the People, who hated him for *Cassanders* sake, and whose insolences, in this change of his Fortune, he had but too just apprehensions to be afraid of. *Demetrius* according to his accustomed Generosity, treated the Messengers very respectfully, and having an extraordinary Veneration for the person, and Vertue of *Phalerius*, he sent *Aristodemus* of *Miletus* a particular favourite to *Antigonus*, back again with the Messengers to assure *Phalerius*, and those under his command, not only of their Liberty but security, and accordingly he sent them away with a sufficient convoy to the City of *Thebes*; whither *Phalerius* desired he might have Liberty to retire.

Now though *Demetrius* had the most passio-

passionate desire in the World to view the so much celebrated City of *Athens*, yet having solemnly Vowed he would not enter into it, till he had given it intire Liberty from *Cassander*, he forbore it for the present, and having blocked up the Cittadel of *Munichia* with a strong Rampart and deep Graff, he immediately weighed, and with his Fleet stood over for *Megara*, where also *Cassander* had a strong Garrison, which would if not removed, prove an uneasie Neighbourhood to his newly delivered *Athenians*.

Whilest his Army laid close Siege to *Megara*, *Demetrius* understanding that *Crateispolis* the Widow of *Poliperchon*, a Lady whose beauty was in greater Reputation than her Vertue, was at *Patras*, and that as he understood, she had no Aversion for him, he resolved secretly to make her a Visit; and therefore leaving the Siege, he took only a few light Horse-men for his Attendants, and went in pursuit of this extravagant Amour: And that he might without discovery, and with more freedom enjoy the conversation of this celebrated beauty, he commanded his Retinue to pitch a Tent at some distance from *Patras*, and there to attend his return, and so with only two or three of

of his most intimate confidants, he took his way towards the City; but whether by the treachery of the Lady, or by pure accident is uncertain, so it happened, he fell into an Ambuscade of a party of *Cassanders* Troops, and was so warmly pursued, that he was obliged by changing his Coat with one of the ordinary Soldiers, and so disguising himself by the swiftness of his Horse to purchase a dishonorable safety, the just reward of such an adventure, narrowly Escaping being made a Prisoner to his Enemies, by rendring up his Liberty to the charms of a Lascivious Woman, and an unjustifiable Passion; the Party finding he was too well mounted to be taken returned and seized his Tent where they found many curious presents intended for his Mistress, which made another addition to the loss of his Honour and Design, tho a reward proportionable to the undertaking.

But he had better success in his Wars then in his Amours, for returning to the Camp, he stormed the City of *Megara*, but at the request of the *Athenians*, who had assisted him in the Expedition, he would not permit his Soldiers to commit any violences or spoil, but having chased away the Garrison, he restored

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the Inhabitants to their freedom and laws, as he had before treated the *Athenians*: It happened that the Philosopher *Stilpon* did at that time reside near *Megara*, a person of great Reputation for his retired and contemplative Life; *Demetrius* who had a great Curiosity to see him, sent for him, and the Philosopher being come into the presence, *Stilpon*, said he, *I hope you have received no ill Usage; nor lost any of your Goods by my Soldiers; my Lord*, replied he smartly, *I have not met with any who have thought knowledge or Virtue so valuable as to plunder them from me; but it seems, that upon the taking of the City Demetrius had bestowed Liberty upon all the Slaves, and among the rest upon the only one belonging to the poor Philosopher; and when he was about to take his leave, Demetrius having Extreemly carressed him, Well Stilpon, said he, I leave your City in perfect Liberty and freedom; True my Lord, answered he briskly, for you have not left us so much as one Slave belonging to us.*

Demetrius returning from *Megara* immediately sat down before the Citadel of *Munychia*, which in a few days he took by assault and caused the fortifications to be demolished; and thus having accomplished his Design, at the importunity of

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the *Athenians*, who requested him to refresh himself after his Fatigue he solemnly entred the City, where causing the People to be summoned, in the Audience of a numerous Assembly, he publicly acquainted them; that he did not only freely restore them to the Liberty of their former Popular Government, but would prevail with his Father *Antigonus*, to bestow upon them fifteen thousand Measures of Wheat, and such a proportion of Timber, as would enable them to build a hundred Gallies for the defence of their City. In this manner did the *Athenians* recover their Popular state, after they had lost it for the space of fifteen Years, from the time of the fatal War of *Lamia*, and the unlucky Battle before the City of *Cranon*; after which they had been under a seeming Oligarchy, but really under the single Government of *Demetrius Phalerius* the Deputy Lieutenant of *Cassander*.

But the excessive honours which the *Athenians* bestowed upon their deliverers *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, drew upon them the envy of other Princes, and a universal Jealousie among all their neighbours; for here it was, that by the Courtship of the *Athenians*, they first took upon them the Stile of Majesty and

and the Title of Kings, which hitherto they had declined, as only of right appertaining to the lineal descendants of *Phillip* and *Alexander* the great, and which the rest of his Captains seemed to renounce. But so transported were the *Athenians*, that with a Wild and Extravagant Gratitude, they bestowed upon them not only the Title of Kings, but of their *Tutelary Deities and Deliverers*: and to enhance the complement, by a common Vote it was decreed to change the stile of the City, which formerly named the year according to the Name of the Annual Magistrate; so that now a Priest of the two *Tutelarie Divinities*, who was to be yearly chosen, was to have that honour; and all publique Acts and Instruments were ordered to bear their *Teste* under his Name. And in the Ensigns of their City they caused the Pourtraicts of these two Princes to be drawn among the rest of the Gods, the Patrons and Guardians of their City, They also caused an altar to be erected and consecrated in the place where *Demetrius* first alighted from his Chariot, calling it the *Altar of the Descent of Demetrius*; they added two new Companies or Tribes to their former Number, calling them after the Names of those Princes

Princes *Antigonides* and *Demetriades*; and to the Senate which consisted of of five hundred persons, fifty being chosen according to the ancient constitution, out of every Tribe, they added one hundred more out of these two new Companies. But the most sordid of all their gross and unmanly flatteries, was the Decree proposed by *Stratocles*, by which it was ordained and Enacted, that the Embassadors, which they should send to *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, should have the same stile and Character with those which were accustomed to be sent to *Delphos*, to consult the Oracle of the *Pythian Apollo*, or to *Elis* to the *Olympian Jupiter*, to perform the *Grecian* solemnities, and to make oblations for the safety and preservation of their City, whom they called, the *Embassadors of the Gods*.

This *Stratocles* was a person of a most insolent and vicious temper, one who had led a lewd and dishonest life, not much unlike the infamous *Cleon*; for his Concubine one day bringing him a dish of certain heads for his Dinner. Look, said he disdainfully, *I must dine upon heads, which we statesmen play with like Tennis-balls*. At another time, when the *Athenians* received that notable defeat

near

near the Island of *Amorgos*, he hasted from the encounter, and before the news could arrive at the City, having got a Chaplet of flowers upon his head, he came riding through the *Ceramique* street, with such a shew of triumph, as if the *Athenians* had been Conquerors, and instantly commanded all the People to render thanks to the Immortal Gods, and keep a solemn Festival for the happy Victory; But whilst they were in the height of their gait and joy the Messengers, who had made no hast to bring the evil tidings, arrived with a true account of the Disaster, and the People being enraged that he had thus imposed upon them, he confidently came among them, and made this jest of the matter, *very fine*, said he, *and I warrant you think you do bravely now to be angry, and to reproach me for having made you two Holidays*. This was the way of this humorist *Stratocles*.

But that I may allude to the words of the Poet *Aristophanes*, *Such strange excess transported their desire, They seemed even to add a slave to fire*. For there was another of these audacious flatterers, who resolving to out thout *Stratocles* in his own Bow, proposed, that it should be decreed, that whensoever

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Demetrius

Demetrius should honour their City with his Royal presence, they should treat him with the same Ceremonies and Honours, as they were accustomed to pay to the Deities of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*, and that to make his reception more splendid and magnificent, a Talent of silver should be issued out of the Exchequer to provide Sacrifices and oblations, to be offered to this new Divinity.

In short, they strained their invention to that degree of extravagance, that they changed the name of the Month of *January*, * *Munychion*, and called it *Demetrian*, and the Festivals of *Bacchus*, which used to be celebrated upon the last day of that Month by the name of *Dionysia*, they altered into the name of *Demetria*. But the incensed Deities soon manifested their displeasure at these sacrilegious flatteries, by divers uncommon presages and Prodigies, for as they were in a pompous Procession, carrying the Banner in which the Images of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* were painted together with those of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, passing through the high street, a sudden and impetuous Gust of wind tore the Banner from the top to the bottom. A strange crop of poisonous Hemlock, a weed formerly an absolute Forreigner to that soil,

sprung

sprung up about the Altars which they had erected to those new Divinities; they were forced also to intermit the solemn Festivals of *Bacchus*, for that upon the very day upon which they used to be annually celebrated there hapned such a severe and Rigorous frost, that not only the Vines and Fig trees were all blasted, but the very Wheat was perished with it; which gave occasion to *Philipides* a declared Enemy to *Strotocles*, to abuse him in those Comique Verses.

*The man of whom our blasted Vines complain,
And the Torn Ensign, which the Gods
disdain
Who did to Mortals Divine Honours pay,
'Twas he who hurt us, not this innocent play.*

This *Philipides* was a person for whom King *Lyfismachus* had such an extraordinary Value, that for his sake he conferred many Royal favours upon the *Athenians*, and had such, even a superstitious, veneration for him, that when he was about to undertake any affair of great Importance, he ever consulted first with *Philipides* and was used to say, that he always took his very presence for a lucky Omen in his enterprizes. Nor was it altogether without reason that he thus e-

steemed him, for *Philipides* was a person of an honest and divertive conversation, wholly free from the nauseous humors of the servile and officious Courtiers; and as his humor was easie and innocent, so was it also gay and pleasant, as may appear by this Passage. *Lysimachus* upon a certain time being extreamly obliged with his diverting Company, demanded of him, *Philipides*, said he, *what will you that I should gratifie you withal, and I will do it? With what your Majesty pleases*, replied he, *provided you do not load me with the Honor of being of your Privy Council*. Such a person was honest *Philipides*, and I therefore thought it not amiss to prefer the innocent *Comedian*, before this impious haranguing flatterer *Stratocles*.

But that which exceeds all the former follies and flatteries was that of *Dromocles* of *Sphetus*, who when there was a debate concerning sending to the *Delphian* Oracle to enquire the lucky minute for the Consecration of certain Bucklers, he propounded in the Assembly, that they should rather send to consult the Oracle of *Demetrius*; and for the horrible rarity of the propositions, I will repeat the very words of the Decretal Order, which was in these terms. *May*

it be happy and propitious? The People of Athens have decreed and ordained, that a fit person shall be chosen among the Athenian Citizens, who shall be deputed to be sent to our great Deliverer, and after he hath duly performed the just Rites and Sacrifices, shall enquire of him, in what most Religious and decent manner he will please to direct the Consecration of the Bucklers; and according to the answer which his Oracleship shall be pleased to return, the People shall be obliged to put it in speedy execution. Thus did these officious flatterers, with their impious breath, blow up poor *Demetrius*, already crazed with his successes and honors, almost into a perfect pleurisie and madness.

Demetrius, who was naturally amorous in this interval of leisure from his Martial affairs, became passionately in love with a fair *Athenian* Lady, whose name was *Euridice*: She was descended of the ancient House of *Miltiades*, that Celebrated Captain, and had been Married very young to *Opheltas* Prince of *Cyrene*, but having the misfortune to be divorced from him by his untimely Death, she was not able to brook that Melancholly Court, but retired her self to *Athens*, whence *Demetrius*, who was as fortunate at storming the tender hearts

of fair Ladies, as the Walls of the most obstinate Cities, after a short siege of Courtship overcame the difficulties and averfions, with which she defended her self against second Nuptials, and was Married to her. The *Athenians* took this Marriage for an extraordinary favour done to their City of which the Lady was a Native, when as in truth it was the effect of a Natural propension which he had to variety, for he had many Wives at the same time; but among them all *Philla* was the Lady to whom he paid the most respect and difference; she was the Daughter of *Antipater*, and the Widdow of *Craterus*, who while he lived was of all the Successors of *Alexander* the most beloved, and at his death the most universally lamented by the *Macedonians*: And for these reasons *Antigonus* had obliged him to Marry her, notwithstanding the disparity of their years, *Demetrius* being much younger than that Princess; and when upon that account he made some difficulty of complying with his Fathers pleasure, *Antigonus* whispered him softly in his Ear this Couplet alluding to those verses in *Euripides*.

Let not her years your Love abate,
But Marry where's the best Estate

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But as it frequently happens in such unequal Matches, how much respect and difference soever *Demetrius* paid to her Birth, Quality and Fortune, *Philla* was never entirely possessed of his heart; for besides several other Ladies whom he married, he had always many Mistresses, and was a Prince that surpassed all others of his time, in abandoning himself to the infamous slavery of his Passions, and unbounded pleasures.

But he was not so absolutely charmed with the soft Lute of *Venus*, but that he had still an Ear for the shrill Notes of *Bellona's* Trumpet; and there happening at this time a new contest with King *Ptolomy*, concerning the Island of *Cyprus* *Antigonus* sent for him to command his Troopes in that expedition; his unwillingness to abandon the glorious Enterprize of the deliverance of *Greece*, which he had so fortunately begun, did for some time struggle with his compliance to the Kings command; and seeing that he could not at present effect his design by the force of his Arms, he attempted to accomplish it by cunning and Artifice: He sent therefore to *Cleonides*, *Ptolomies* Governour in *Sicyone* and *Corinth*, and privately made him very ad-

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vantageous

vantageous offers, if he would only retire from those places, and leave them at intire liberty: But *Cleonides* disdainfully rejecting all sorts of conditions, which might blemish his reputation with the infamy of so base a treachery to his Master, he was for that time forced to quit the prosecution of his designs in favour of the *Grecians*, and to apply himself to the War with *Ptolomy*: He therefore embarked his Troops, and with a mighty Navy sailed directly to the Island of *Cyprus*, where immediately upon his arrival, he fell upon *Mene-laüs* the Brother of *Ptolomy*, and gave him a notable defeat. The news of this affront so intraged *Ptolomy* that he came in person with all his Naval Power and Land forces, to revenge the disgrace of his Brothers overthrow.

When both these Fleets were come within sight, *Ptolomy* having commanded his to drop their Anchors, he sent this insolent Message to *Demetrius*, that *if he consulted his safety or honor, he would take this timely advice, and instantly retire, before his whole Fleet and Land forces were come up, for that otherwise he would compel him to do it with shame and ignominy.* *Demetrius* not in the least shock'd by these impotent Menaces, returned him

him an answer more civil in appearance, but not less high and daring. *You may acquaint Ptolomy, said he to the Messengers, that I will do him the favour to permit him to escape, if he will oblige himself upon his honor, to withdraw his Garrisons from Sicyone and Corinth, and make those Cities possessors of their own Freedom.*

The contest between these two potent Princes, and the issue of this War was such, as had not only a single influence upon themselves, but must draw after it the interests of many other Princes and Sovereign Lords; for it was apparent that he upon whom victory should incline to bestow her Lawrels, would thereby become not only Master of the Kingdoms of *Cyprus* and *Syria*, but most undoubtedly the most Potent and formidable Monarch of all the Successors of *Alexander*.

The Fleets had not long lain within view of one another, but that *Ptolomy* resolving to put it to the issue of a Combat, and in order thereunto, having Commanded *Menelaüs*, who lay in the Port of *Salamine* with sixty Gallies, that in the heat of the Engagement he should attack the Rear of *Demetrius* his fleet, he instantly weighed, and with all the force of sails, and Oars he assailed

led *Demetrius* with a fleet of one hundred Gallies, excellently well manned and appointed for the Combat. But *Demetrius*, who apprehended his design, commanded ten of his Gallies to row up to the very mouth of the Haven of *Salamine*, and there to place themselves so advantageously, that *Menelaus* could neither come out with his fleet, nor be able to combat them but upon equal numbers: and after this, having ranged his land Army upon the shore, he advanced to meet *Ptolomy* with 180. Gallies; and attacked him with such a furious impetuositie, that in a little time, he forced him with only eight of the lightest, and most nimble sailers in his Fleet to save himself by flight; leaving *Demetrius* in so intire a possession of the Victory, that 70. of his stoutest Gallies were taken, and the rest sunk, together with all the Seamen, Soldiers, victuallers and the Gallions, which carried his Women, Friends, Officers, and principal Servants, his Treasure, and all the engines and ammunition which he had provided for the War.

Among the number of those whom fortune by that victory made prisoners to *Demetrius*, the Celebrated *Lamia* chanced to be one, a Lady whose beauty, admirable

admirable skill upon the Lute, and charming voice had rendred her extremely admired; and after she began to entertain much Courtship, she still increased in that infamous kind of fame; and altho' she was now past the Meridian glories of her beauty, yet had she something so agreeable in her humor and conversation, that *Demetrius* quickly exchanged his Liberty with her and became a Prisoner to her charmes, to that degree, as that it was said, *All other Ladies were amorous of Demetrius, but Demetrius was amorous only of Lamia.*

After the gaining of this signal Victory, *Demetrius* came before *Salamine*; and *Menelaus* upon his first approach, being unable to make any considerable resistance, surrendered himself and all his fleet together with twelve hundred Horse, and twelve thousand Foot, with all their Arms and Ammunition: But that which added to the glory of this Victory, was the generous deportment of *Demetrius* to the vanquished, for after he had given honorable funerals to the Dead, he bestowed Liberty upon the living; and that he might not forget his flattering *Athenians*, he sent them, as a present, compleat Arms for twelve hundred Men:

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To carry this happy news, *Aristodemus* of *Miletus*, the most affected flatterer belonging to the Court, was dispatched to *Antigonus*; and he to inhance the Welcom Message, was resolved to raise the expectation of *Antigonus* to the highest pitch, by delaying his satisfaction to the latest moment: He therefore commanded the Frigate, which transported him to come to an Anchor in the Road, and having ordered all the Ships Crew to remain abroad, he took the long boat and was set a shore alone: One may well imagine the King was in great pain to know the issue of this Encounter and when he was informed, that *Aristodemus* was coming all alone, it put him into strange inquietudes and disorders, least he should be charged with some fatal tidings; his impatience growing importunate, he sent one Messenger after another, to inquire what News; but *Aristodemus* walking very gravely and with a settled Countenance, without making any answer, still marched on softly towards the Palace: *Antigonus*, who could not divine the meaning of this delay, and no longer able to support the eagerness of his expectations, descended to the gate of the Palace, followed by a train of inquisitive Courtiers, and trem-

trembling betwixt the uneasie combate of the Passions of Hope and fear, he advanced to meet this fantastique Envoy, soon as *Aristodemus* saw him within hearing, stretching out his hands, he accosted him with this loud Exclamation, *Royal Sir*, said he, *Rejoyce! We have gloriously vanquished Ptolomy, We are absolute masters of Cyprus, and have taken above sixteen thousand Prisoners.* To which *Antigonus* coldly replied, *Welcom Aristodemus, with your good news, but truly since you have made us purchase it at so inhanced a price of Expectation, you must e'ne be content to be paid in your own Coin, and languish in the long Expectancy of a slow Reward.*

The Courtiers, who were extasied with this good news, taking a suddain limit from this appellation of *Aristodemus*, in great pomp proclaimed *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* Kings, and immediately placed a Diadem upon the head of *Antigonus*, who sent a Rich Crown also to his Son, the superscription of the Letter which accompanied it being, *To the most excellent Majesty of King Demetrius.*

This news arriving in *Egypt*, that they might not seem to be dejected with the late defeat, the *Egyptians*, also took occasion to bestow the stile of Kings upon

on *Ptolomy*; and the rest of the successors of *Alexander*, resolving not to be behind hand with them, also assumed the Title of Kings: *Lisimachus* taking at the same time the Royal Diadem, and *Seleucus* who had before received it in all Addresses from the barbarous Nations, now also took it upon him in all the applications which were made unto him from the *Grecians*: As for *Cassander* he still retained his ancient Stile, in all his Letters and publick instruments, by leaving others who addressed themselves unto him at liberty, whether they would give him the Title of King or wholly omit it.

But this new addition of Honour, was not confined only to the name of King, or the Royal Ornaments, but seemed to inspire them with such haughty sentiments, as in a manner changed their very natures, and way of Living; for now they abandoned the former familiarities towards their friends, and in their very Miene, Gate, Salutations and other deportments began to affect a supercilious state, and disagreeable reservedness, and affectation of Grandeur: appearing rather like formal Actors upon a Theatre, than those Easie, free, and obliging Persons they were before; and

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to render themselves more feared, they put on with the Royal Habit, a certain cruelty to their Subjects, to whom the sight of punishments had formerly been very rare and unfrequent: but throwing away the vizard of Popularity, they now openly avowed themselves absolute Sovereigns. This Fear of their displeasure; begot the unmanly vice of Flattery among their followers, the whole Court striving who should be most forward, in these obsequious and mean compliances with these humors, which upon this change they had taken up.

Antigonus extremely elevated with the success of his Arms at *Cyprus*, under the conduct of *Demetrius*, resolved to push on his good fortune, and in person to lead the whole power of his Empire against King *Ptolomy* by Land, whilst *Demetrius* as Admiral of the Naval forces, should coast a long the shoar, to assist him by sea as occasion should require. In this expedition it happened, that one *Medius* a great Captain in the Army had this odd presaging dream; he thought he saw *Antigonus* and his whole Army running as if it had been a Race, that at the first jumping off the score, they ran the heat with great vigor and swiftness; but that towards the end of the Career

Career, he saw *Antigonus* come lagging up tired, and almost breathless and quite spent : and the event proved accordingly, for *Antigonus* met with many difficulties and extremities by Land ; and *Demetrius* was so shattered by foul weather at sea, that he lost divers of his best ships, himself very narrowly escaping a shipwrack ; so that all the great expectations of this Campaign came just to nothing, they being obliged to return home without having got any thing besides losses and disappointments.

Antigonus, though now he was near the eightieth year of his age ; yet seemed uncapable of the fatigues of War by the bulk of his body, (which, besides that it was extraordinary, was also inclined to be corpulent,) rather then by his age, which was very green and vigorous at those years ; he therefore committed the management of his greatest affairs unto the Prince, whose conduct was very admirably dextrous in military matters ; and the old King was induced to bear with those excessive Liberties, wherein he drowned himself in the time of Peace, because he observed him to be the most temperate and abstemious person in the World in the time of War and action.

It happened, that returning one day from his field exercises and coming to the King as his custom was to kiss him, and doing it with a little more then Usual Warmness, *What? I warrant you Demetrius*, said the King smiling, *you fancied you were at the Lips of your Mistress Lamia*. For she, of all his Women, had the most intire possession of his heart ; at another time, having been for several dayes lost in a Debauch among his Companions, and coming into the presence, he desired *Antigonus*, that his Majesty would excuse him that he had not in so long time paid his duty to him, but the reason was, he had been seized with so violent a defluxion of Rheume, that he had been obliged to keep his Chamber. *Well!* replied the old King, looking very pleasantly, *I was informed so by your Servants, but pray Demetrius tell me, did the diffuxion come from Chios or Thassos?* Alluding to the rich Wines that were brought from those places, and not long after *Demetrius* having given it out that he was indisposed, *Antigonus* had the curiosity to make him a visit, and coming to his apartment, out bolts a young sprightly * *Girl* : the King entering took a seat by his bed side ;

* *Hic Galibi mutavi sexum, cum Plutarcho deperoneo. the infirmus, quod seculus inimicandum est Civitatis auribus indignum Exitum.*

and taking hold of his hand, began to feel his pulse : *Demetrius*, who was at a loss what excuse to make, told him that he was now much better than he had been, and that he hoped his Fever had left him. *Yes*, replied the King very quick, *I verily believe it has, for I just now met it at your Chamber Door.* However, *Antigonus* did more easily connive at these Vices, in regard of the other excellent qualities whereof he was possessed : and indeed, this was the true Temper of this Prince, that to what ever he addicted himself, whether good or bad, he resigned himself wholly to it for that time ; and not after the Custom of the *Scythians*, who in the midst of their Cups, were wont to call for their Arms, as it were to awaken their courage ready to drop asleep with their plentiful Glasses. As for *Demetrius*, if he devoted himself to his pleasures and luxury, he abandoned himself intirely to them ; and if the trumpet sounded to Horse, he was no less assiduous in the Fatigues of War : he was beyond all doubt a very great Captain, and most notably dextrous not only in his Conduct, but in forming his Levies, and raising an Army, and in making all the necessary preparations of Stores and Magazines, the

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very Muscles and Nerves of War, which he ever took care to provide in great abundance.

His great divertisement was in building Gallies, and inventing engines of War, and having naturally a *Genius* addicted to *Mechaniques*, he did not apply it to the making of frivolous and unuseful Toyes ; after the humor of some other Princes, who spent their vacant hours in Painting, Musick or Turning ; as *Æropus* King of *Macedon*, who took great pleasure in making pretty little Lamps and Tablets : or as *Ptolomeus Philomctor*, whose diversion was to cultivate *Helebore*, *Henbane*, *Hemlock*, *Aconiete*, *Dorychnium*, and other noxious plants, which he used to sow himself in the Royal Gardens, and with great diligence, to gather the seeds in their season, the fruits and Juices, and to try experiments of their natures, qualities and virtues. The *Parthian* Kings employed themselves something better becoming their dignity and martial humor, for their diversion was to sharpen the points of their Arrows, Darts, and Javelins. But the *Mechanique* Inventions of *Demetrius*, though designed for use and service, had something noble and magnificent withal ; and the wondrous contrivance of them was

so uncommon, that one might easily read the Character of a great Mind and extraordinary spirit in the Princely Artifice; they were such as by their magnificent and costly structure, bespoken themselves the products of a Royal *Engineer*, in so much that they did not less surprise his friends with their stupendous magnificence, then they did astonish his Enemies with their dreadful Beauty; and it is no less pleasant than true, which is related of them, that the very Enemies against whom they were to be employed for their destruction, could not forbear running to gaze with admiration, upon his Gallies of five and six ranges of Oars, as they passed near their Coasts; and the Inhabitants of those Cities which were to be besieged and stormed by those terrible *Engines*, could not forbear thronging to those Walls, which they were about to batter, to satisfy their curiosity with the agreeable prospect of those stately *Machines*, which from their use were called destroyers of Cities. And even *Lisimachus*, of all the Kings of his time, the greatest Enemy of *Demetrius*, coming to raise the siege of *Solos* in *Cilicia*, sent to desire the permission to see his Gallies and admirable *Engines*, which *Demetrius* easily accorded him

him, and having gratified his curiosity by a full view of them, struck at once with fear and admiration, he quitted the place, and his design of relieving the besieged City. The *Rhodians* also, whom he had long besieged, and at last reduced to composition, made their humble request, that he would bestow some one of these *Engines* upon them, which they might preserve as a Monument of his Puissance, and their brave resistance.

The quarrel betwixt him and the *Rhadians* was upon the occasion of their being allies to *Ptolomy*, whom they had assisted against *Demetrius*; and in the Siege the greatest of all the *Engines* was planted against their Walls; The Basis of it was exactly square, each side containing twenty four yards, the height of it was thirty three yards, still from the Basis to the Top growing narrower, something like a Cone or Pyramid; within it were several Appartments or Chambers, which were to be filled with armed Men, and in every story or apartment, the front towards the Enemy had windows which were to be opened in order to their discharging their shot and Arrows against the besieged; but that which was most admirable, was,

that notwithstanding the vast bigness of the *Ingine*, yet when it was moved, it never so much as once tottered, but went upon the Basis with an equal poise, making a most dreadful noise as it was forced a long, and thereby gave both wonder and terror to the Spectators.

Whilest *Demetrius* was at this Siege, there were presented unto him two compleat Curiaffes of polished steel, weighing each of them no more than forty pounds, and *Zoilus*, who had forged them, to shew the excellence of their temper, desired that one of them might be tried with an arrow shot out of one of the *Ingines* at no greater distance then six and twenty yards; and upon the experiment it was found, that though the Dart did exactly hit the Curiaff, yet it made no greater impression then such a slight scratch as might be made with the point of a stile or graver. *Demetrius*, who was wonderfully delighted with the workmanship, having well rewarded the Artificer, himself wore one of them in all his encounters, and bestowed the other upon *Alcimus* the *Epirot*, one of the most robust and gallant Captains in his Army: this *Alcimus* was one of the strongest men in the World; for his compleat Armor weigh-

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ed six score pound, whereas the Arms of the ablest of the other Soldiers rarely exceeded half that weight; but notwithstanding all his strength and courage, no Armor was proof against his ill Destiny, for in a furious attack, whilest he was gallantly fighting and encouraging his Soldiers by his example, he was slain near the Theatre during this Siege.

The *Rhodians* all the time made a brave defence, in so much that *Demetrius* evidently saw he was not to master them without great difficulty and hazard, nevertheless he persisted in his Resolution to try the last extremities; and the rather, because that the *Rhodians* having taken a vessel in which there was imbarqued certain rich hangings for his Pavilion, apparel, and other necessaries, as also the Letters from the Princess *Philla*, who had sent them to him, they had undecently sent them together with the ship to *Ptolomy*: being herein far from imitating the honorable example of the *Athenians*, who having surprized an Express sent from King *Philip* their enemy, they opened all the Letters he was charged with, excepting only those directed to Queen *Olympia*, which with great Civ-

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lity they sent unbroken open to her. Notwithstanding this provocation, *Demetrius* into whose power it shortly after came to have repaid the affront, would not suffer himself to be transported with revenge, so as to do a dishonorable Action, which he condemned in them: for it happened that the design of the City of *Jalysus*, which the celebrated *Protophenes* had been seven years painting, and wanted only the finishing strokes, being surpris'd by his Soldiers in the suburbs of the City, the *Rhodians* sent a Herald at Arms, to request of him, that he would be pleas'd to spare that rare Piece of art and curiosity: *Demetrius* sent them in answer that he would as soon permit the burning of the Picture of his Dear Father and King, *Antigonus*, as suffer the least injury to be done to such a curious Piece of laborious skill and beauty. And so admirable was this Painting, that 'tis said, when *Appelles*, that fam'd Master first saw it, he was so surpris'd, that unable to stifle his admiration, he stood mute, struck at once with wonder, and a little emulation at the beauty of the work: but recovering his transport and his tongue, *A most admirable and marvellous Piece!* said he, *but yet here want*
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some of those sweetneses and softning touches, which my paintings have: of which he was wont to boast, That he painted for eternity. This curious piece, among many others was afterwards carried to *Rome*, where it was consumed by an accidental fire in that City.

Whilest *Demetrius* thus fruitlessly maintained the Siege, and the *Rhodians* no less obstinately defended their City, the *Athenian* Embassadors came luckily to rescue his Reputation, by proposing an accomodation between them, that so *Demetrius* might be at liberty to assist them against *Cassander*, who had taken this opportunity to besiege the City of *Athens*: in short a Peace was concluded by which the *Rhodians* were oblig'd to assist *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* against all their Enemies, excepting *Ptolomy* the King of *Egypt*, and so soon as the Rati-fications were exchanged, *Demetrius* with a fleet of 330 Gallies, and a great Land Army, sail'd directly to *Athens*, where he not only presently dislodg'd *Cassander*, but falling upon his Rear very much incommoded his Retreat, and pursuing him to the straits of *Thermopylae* oblig'd him there to a Battle, which ended in the total overthrow of *Cassanders* Army.

After

After this Victory he took in the City of *Heraclea*, the Citizens voluntarily opening their Gates to receive the Conqueror; and the Garrison consisting of 6000. *Macedonians* revolted to him, and took service under his victorious Ensignes. In his return, having given Liberty to all the *Grecians* on this side the Straits of *Thermopylae*; made an Alliance with the *Bæotians*; and taken in the Cities of *Cenchrees*, *Phylæ*, and *Panacton*, in which *Cassander* had placed strong Garrisons to awe the Country into obedience, he bestowed them upon the *Athenians*; and they in requital, though they had before been so profuse in bestowing honors upon him, that one would have thought they had exhausted all the store of Invention, yet strained and put their Wits upon the Rack, to extort from them, new devised Honors and Flatteries. They ordered him a lodging behind *Minerva's* Temple, in the Appartment of the Virgins, the vowed Votaries of that Goddess; upon which occasion some of the Wits exercised their Talent, and took the Liberty to say, That *Minerva* had got a dangerous Inmate, and that it was not much to the Reputation of her virgin Chastity to keep company with *Demetrius*

who was not so over strait laced in that sort of virtue; though it seems *Antigonus* had not given him the example; for of him it is reported, that one time observing that his other son *Philip*, had lodgings appointed in a house where there were three pretty young Ladies, the King without taking any notice to his son, sent for the Officer who had taken up the Lodgings, to whom he said, Pray, good Sir, oblige me with removing my Son out of those little pent Lodgings, for I do not care to have these young People crowded one upon another,

As for *Demetrius*, he was so far from shewing any reverence to the Goddess with whom he had taken up his Quarters, and whose younger Brother he had the vanity to have himself stiled, and upon that score might have paid her some little decent respect, that he gave himself up to the most infamous Liberties; he debauched the young Women and antient Matrons of the City of *Athens* to that degree, as is, as little to the Reputation of a modest Pen to relate, as it was dishonorable to the City; which may for ever blush at those lascivious Liberties, in which this dissolute Prince by their servile compliances, was not only permitted, but even

even tempted to debase both theirs and his own honor and glory; in so much, that his Court seemed Innocent, when he had only *Chryseis Lamia*, *Dema*, *Anticyra*, and some other Ladies of common ill Fame, for the Companions of his Revels.

But among such a heap of Vice, there was found one Jewel of severe virtue and Chastity, whose name deserved to be transmitted to Posterity in the Records of Honor, the young * *Damoclea*, whose surpassing beauty gave her the particular title of the *Fair Democlea*. *Demetrius* had assayed all the wayes, of passionate Courship, Gifts, threatnings, and flatteries, to make himself a passage into her heart; but all in vain; nay she grew so weary of his importunate addresses, and repeated solicitations, that she declined all manner of publique Conversation, perfectly out of Design to avoid his disdained Passions; but going to a private Bath, and the lascivious Prince being informed of it, he followed, and surprized her there; In this distress, the Innocent *Damoclea* taking counsel from Despair; and resolving to secure her honor, though with the loss of her life, hastily throwing off the cover of the Cauldron, she leapt into the

*Hic quoque
mutavi se-
xum.

the Boiling vessel, and by that untimely Fate, becoming a Martyr to her virtue, purchased an Immortality of Fame and Glory.

Sometime after *Demetrius* had left *Athens*, *Cleonetus* the son of *Cleomedon*, made application to him, by his intercession, to procure that the fine of fifty Talents, in which his Father had been condemned by the People of *Athens*, might be remitted; *Demetrius* gave him Letters to that effect, which when he had produced at a common Counsel, it did not only diminish his Reputation, but strangely shock'd the Citizens, who tho', in compliance with the Letters, they remitted the Fine, yet they made an Edict prohibiting any Citizen for the future, to endeavour the obtaining of Letters of the like Tenor from *Demetrius*; but being informed, that *Demetrius*, to whom an account of it was carried, resented it as a high indignity and affront, and that he gave out some passionate and menacing words about it, these trembling Flatterers, did not only rescind and vacate the former Order, but inhumanely put some of the proposers and advisers of it to death, and banished others; and to make up the matter, it was

was in a full Assembly enacted and decreed, that whatsoever King *Demetrius* should in time to come Ordain, should be esteemed sacred and inviolable to the Gods and to Men : upon which, when some of the best of the Citizens had said, that certainly *Stratocles* must be stark mad and out his wits to make such a horrid and impious decree, *Demochares* the *Laconion* replied, that if *Stratocles* had not been so mad, all the world must conclude him out of his Wits; thereby intimating what an advantageous Trade he made of this Impious and servile Flattery : But *Demochares* paid Dearly for his Wit; for being accused for it before the Criminal Judges, the People, who, as it must needs be where they govern, were not able to indure anything less Frantique than themselves; they adjudged this honest Man to perpetual exile, for being in his senses, and making an unseasonable use of his Wit and Reason : this was the natural result of their new regained Liberty and the true character of the Temper of a Popular State which is only a Liberty for all persons to be Slaves to the wild, arbitrary, and extravagant Humors of a giddy, rash, and inconstant multitude of Fools, managed by a Set of more cunning Knaves.

After

After this, *Demetrius* marched with his forces into *Peloponesus*, where the Terror of his victories had so benumbed the Hearts and hands of his Enemies, that not one of them had the courage to oppose the Torrent of his Arms; but before his approach abandoned all the Towns and Garrisons which they were possessed of, so that he reduced all *Arcadia* under his Obedience, except the Cities of *Mantineia* and *Argos*; he also by composition had *Sicyon* and *Corinth* surrendred unto him, paying to the respective Garrisons an hundred Talents.

About this time it happened that the solemn Festivals of *Juno* were to be celebrated with the accustomed sports at *Argos*; and *Demetrius*, who was resolved by assisting at them, to render the Solemnity more splendid and magnificent, at his being there fell in love with, and married the fair *Deidamia*, the daughter of *Eacus* King of the *Molossians*, and sister to *Pyrrhus*, which Nuptials did not a little contribute to the heightning of those Solemnities, and entertainments dedicated to *Juno* the Goddess of Marriages : at the same time also, he prevailed with the *Sicyonians* to change the scituation of their City, to a place far more pleasant and com-
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modious, where they built a new one, and complemented him with giving it the Name of *Demetriada*, and in conclusion his affairs being conducted to this prosperous issue, he summoned a general Assembly of the *Grecians* to meet him at the *Isthmus* in *Peloponesus*, where, by an extraordinary concourse of People, he was with an unanimous consent Proclaimed Captain General of the *Greeks*, as before him *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great had been: and being blown up with the fresh Gales of his prosperous Fortune, he had the vanity to fancy himself not only equal, but Superior to those two famous and renowned Kings; In this indeed he outdid Great *Alexander* himself, who would never take upon him the Title of King of Kings, as did *Demetrius*, though many Kings paid Homage to him, nor did he ever go about to lessen, or divest any of them, who were his Tributaries, of the stile of Kings; whereas *Demetrius* used to ridicule all those who gave the title of Kings to any of the Successors of *Alexander*, except his Father and himself; and in his entertainments, it was a common diversion with him, after his own and Fathers had passed round by the name of Kings, to

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drink the Healths of *Seleucus*, with the title of great Master of the Elephants, of *Ptolomy* by the name of Lord High Admiral, of *Lisymachus* with the addition of Lord Treasurer, and of *Agathocles*, by the name of Governor of *Sicily* and the Islands. This vain humour being reported to these Princes, gave none of them any other emotion, then that of deriding the insolent extravagances of *Demetrius*; only *Lisymachus* resented it with deep indignation, it being in effect to reproach him, as being an Eunuch, such being Usually then Deputed to the Office of Treasurers; which made *Lisymachus*, who mortally hated him for this indignity and affront, reproach him with his Amours to *Lamia*, of whom he said, *That she was indeed a pretty stage Queen, and acted her part very admirably.* Which when it was told *Demetrius*, the Reflection, touching him in a tender place, *Well!* said he, *I would have Lisymachus know, that my Miss, is every whit as honest and virtuous as his Penelope.*

But to proceed, *Demetrius* being about to return to *Athens*, signified by his Letters to the City, that he had a desire to be inrolled in the Fraternity of the Priests of *Ceres*, and his request

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was, that, without attending the time commonly allotted from the Initials, to the Confirmation of those admitted into that Order, he might at once be admitted to the usual Ceremonies and Mysteries which were to be performed upon that occasion: Now this was an Innovation absolutely contrary to the Rules of the Foundation; and a thing which had never been allowed before for from immemorial Antiquity the lesser Mysteries were celebrated in the month of *November*, and the great Solemnity in the *August* following; so that consequently none of the Novices were admitted to the latter, till they had at least spent an intire year in the State of Probationer: Yet all this notwithstanding, when, in the publick Assembly, these Letters of *Demetrius* were produced and read, there was not one single Person, who had the courage to oppose them, except *Pythodorus* the Priest, who was Torch-bearer, in those Solemnities; but it signified nothing for *Stratocles*, who was always wicked and ingenious, proposed as an expedient that the Month of *March* then currant should by Edict be taken and reputed to be the Month of *November*, which being as soon agreed as offered, and

Demetrius thereby admitted to the lesser Ceremonies; by another vote, they turned the same Month of *March* into the Month of *August*, by which contrivance *Demetrius* was also gratified with being an Actor in the Greater, and admitted to the most secret Mysteries of that Solemnity: which gave the Comedian *Philipides* an occasion to exercise his wit upon *Stratocles* in this Couplet

*Prodigious Skill! how strangely Flatt ring
Fear,
Into one Month, hath crowded all the Year.*

And upon his having proposed, that *Demetrius* should lodg in the Temple of *Minerva* within the Castle, these;

*Stratocles thinks it is no sin,
To turn a Temple to an Inn;
Or with lewd wanton Company,
To bless Minerva's Chastity.*

Most certain it is, that the flagitious crimes, which were then committed, deserved a severe Satyr. And *Demetrius* himself did in some measure scourge their mad Impiety by his unbounded Insolencies; but that which did above all other things regret the *Athenians*,

was, that having given command, that they should with all expedition raise for his service two hundred and fifty Talents, and they to comply with his demands, being forced to levy it upon the People with the severity of taking distresses, when they presented him with the money, which they had with such difficulty raised, as if it were a trifling sum, he commanded it to be given to *Lamia*, and the rest of his Women, to buy them perfumed Wash-bals for their Baths; by which kind of treatment, it is a question, whether the shame or the Loss, the manner of his contemptuous expression, or the parting with their Money, was the more galling affliction to these foolish People; though the Story is variously reported, and some affirm it was the *Thessalians*, and not the *Athenians*, who were thus treated by him. But however, this is most certain, that *Lamia* squeezed considerable sums of money from them upon pretence of making a great entertainment for him; and in truth the supper was of that Magnificence and Plenty, and managed with so much skill and pleasing variety, that *Lyncus* of *Samos*, who was present at it, thought it worth his pains to write a description of it.

Upon this occasion, one of the Comical Wits of the Town, gave *Lamia* the name of *Helepolis*, saying she alone was an Engine sufficient, without the other, to destroy a City. And *Demochares* of *Solis* gave *Demetrius* the appellation of *Mythos*, which signifies a Tale or Fable, because said he, *there is never a Tale, but has its Witch or Lamia at the end on't, and Demetrius has his Lamia too.*

In short he was bewitched with this Woman to that degree, as for her sake not only to draw upon himself the Envy and Jealousie of all his Wives, but the hatred even of the best of his Friends, as appears by this instance; *Lysimachus* shewing to the Embassadors of *Demetrius*, the scars of those wounds, which he had received upon his thighs and Arms, by the paws of the Lion, with which *Alexander* in one of his furious humours had obliged him to combat, they smiling replied, *that the King their Master was not without his scars, but could shew upon his neck the marks of a Lamia, a no less dangerous and furious beast, than that with which He had encountered.* And if she was not a real Enchantress, it is very odd and unaccountable, that *Demetrius* should shew so great an aversion to marry *Philla*, by reason of the

disproportion of her age, when yet whose name was *Thonis*, the insatiable he was so passionate of *Lamia*, who Prostitute, thinking to make advantage was so far past the meridian of her of his lascivious folly, promised she years, as to stand in need of other would be at his service, but withall charmes, besides those of youth and beauty; she had indeed a delicate voice, demanded so great a sum, as he either was and most admirable touch upon the Lute, with which *Demetrius* extremely not able, or at least thought too great delighted; and one evening after she a price, to purchase the Repentance of had entertained him with that soft Music, But it seems his Imagination, which was sharp set upon what he had treated of sick all the time he was at supper, he in the day, presented him with the possession of her in a Dream, and the demanded of *Dema*, whom, for her shadow being much cheaper, and possibly him, they usually called *Mad Deme* sibly wholesomer than the substance, *What say you Deme? how seems she to you* he was contented to have the *Thonis* *now! Truly Sir*, replied *Dema*, *she seems* of his own Fancy, and his money too: *to me to be an old Woman*. And *Demetrius* But the Confident Woman having heard who was resolved to pursue the humor the story, with the effrontery of those looking very pleasantly, *But Deme*, said unblushing Brutes, commences a suit he, *do you see these delicate fruits, and* against him, and layes her action for so *what an agreeable Repast she had provided* much money as she had demanded of *for me this night?* at which *Dema* laugh- him, alledging it was but just that she ing heartily, *very pleasant in in troth!* said should have satisfaction since he confessed he had had his Bargain: *Bocchoris*, she, *Ile undertake if you will lye with* who thought it the greatest Justice to *my Grandam*, *she shall treat you far better* put an affront upon such confidence, *than this comes to*. It is also reported advised the youth, to bring into the of this *Lamia*, how she opposed the Court so much money as she had demanded, and to count it over so as *Thonis* famous Sentence of *Bocchoris* the Egyptian might hear the noise: which being done Judg, on this manner: A certain young accordingly, *Mistress*, said *Bocchoris*, *you* Spark being wonderfully smitten with the charms of a celebrated Courtisan who may

may go about your business if you please for you are paid in your own Coin, one Fang being as good as another. But *Lamia*, who it seems would turn Advocate for one of her own Profession, moved in Arrest of Judgment, that the Sentence was no way equal, in regard, that the desire which *Thonis* had to finger the money, was in no sort satisfied by hearing it Chink, but rather increased; whereas on the contrary, the Youth was abundantly satisfied with the enjoyment of *Thonis* in the entertainment of his amorous Imaginations; But this is sufficient to have related concerning *Lamia*, we must now return to *Demetrius*, whose Fortune, beginning to bend her brows, will conduct us from the Comical to the more Tragical occurrences, and darker Scenes of his following Life.

For now all these Kings whom he had disobliged, or who were jealous of his growing Ambition and formidable power, entred into a strong Confederacy against him and his Father King *Antigonus*; And assembling their united strength, *Demetrius* was constrained to abandon Greece, and to joyn with his Father, to weather the storm which was gathering from all Quarters, and threat-

threatned to discharge its violence upon their heads; *Antigonus* upon the occasion of this War shewed a courage and fierceness much disproportionate to his years; he was a Prince of an undanted spirit, and could he but have preserved a little Temper in his vain Ambition in aspiring at an absolute Sovereignty over others, he might in all probability, not only have continued in the first Rank of the Princes of his Age, but have left that honor to his Descendents: but he was of a violent and haughty spirit, much addicted to undervalue all other Princes, and to treat them both in his words and actions, more insolently than was either consistent with his Interest, his Prudence, or the Honor due to Kings; and though by this rash freedom of his Language he had drawn a most formidable Power of the most considerable Princes against him, yet when he first heard of the Confederacy, he could not forbear despising the Confederates, by a vanity peculiar to him: *Oh!* said he, *are they flocking? I'll make no more to disperse them, than a Company of Rocks in a Corn field, with throwing a stone among them, and crying Hush.*

So soon as the troopes which composed

posed the Gross of his Army could be brought together: *Antigonus* took the field at the head of seventy thousand foot and ten thousand Horse, and seventy five Elephants. His Enenies were little inferior to him in number of Men, for they had sixty four thousand Foot, and ten thousand five hundred Horse, but they far surpassed him in Elephants, of which they brought four hundred into the Field, and a hundred twenty Chariots of War.

When these two mighty Armies approached near, there happened an odd kind of alteration in the humor of *Antigonus*, and though his courage and resolution received no great abatement, yet his Hope and confidence seemed something to flag and hang their Wings; for whereas formerly there was wont to be a certain joyous fierceness dwelling in his Eyes, that he used to speak boldly and bravely, and even in his encounters, to drop some witty Ralleries, to encourage his Soldiers to contemn their Enemies, he now became very thoughtful, silent and retired: One day above all the rest, taking *Demetrius* along with him, he shewed him to the Captains and the whole Army which was drawn out upon this occasion, and recommended him

him to them as his declared Successor; these uncusomary actions occasioned some admiration in those who observed them; but that which increased the Wonder was, that now he took *Demetrius* into his most secret Counsels, whereas formerly he never used to communicate his designs to any Person; but when he had resolved any thing, to give out his peremptory commands for the execution: in so much that it is reported, that when *Demetrius* was a youth, he inquiring of the King what time the Army should decamp; he answered him in a little Passion, *What do you trouble yourself? are you the only Person that are afraid you shall not hear the Trumpet?*

But there were other very ominous presages besides this change in the humor of *Antigonus*, which according to the superstition of those times, abated the hopes and courage of the Army. For in his Dream, the Great *Alexander* compleatly armed, seemed to appear to *Demetrius*, and demanded of him what Word they intended to give, in the time of the Battle, and *Demetrius* answering, that he intended the word should be *Jupiter and Victory*; Well! then, I see, said *Alexander*, turning short

short from him with an air of displeasure, you have no service for me, I will go over to your Enemies, who I am assured will entertain me with Joy. And the very morning of the Combat, as the Armies were drawing up *Antigonus* going out of the door of his Tent, by some accident or other stumbled, so that he fell flat upon the Ground, and bruised himself very sorely: this he, as well as others, took for no good augury, and therefore, so soon as he had recovered his feet, lifting up his hands towards Heaven, O jee Immortal Gods, cried he, *if you so please, I beg a Victory from you this day, but if that cannot be granted, let me obtain the favour of death at your hands, and that I may not live to blush to see my self vanquished, and with shame survive my dying Glory.*

When these two great Armies had for some time faced one the other, the signal being given, after whole showers of mortal Arrows, which obscured the very Sun, had been exchanged, as the first complements of Death, they quickly came to handy blows; and *Demetrius*, who commanded the greatest and best part of the Cavalry, gave such a furious charge upon *Antigonus* the son of *Seleucus*, that unable to indure the shock, he
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and the Body which he commanded, turned their backs and fled; and *Demetrius* transported with the success pursued them so eagerly, and so far, as that it fatally lost him the Day; for when perceiving his error, he would have come in, to the assistance of his own Infantry he was not able, the Enemy with their Elephants having cut off his retreat: and on the other hand, *Seleucus* observing the main Battle of *Antigonus* left naked of their Horse, he made an offer of charging them in Front, but then suddenly by wheeling about, as if he intended to attack them in the Flank and Rear; he thereby gave opportunity to those among them, who had before resolved it, perfidiously to revolt from *Antigonus*, and come over to his Party, as great numbers of them did; and this put the rest into such a consternation, no man knowing who were Friends and who Enemies, that the whole Army was instantly put to the Rout. In this Amazing state of his affairs, the old King *Antigonus* still kept his Post, and when a strong body of the Enemies drew up to charge him, one of those about him, seeing it, cried out to him, *Sir, consider with your self what you will do, do you not see that*
Party

Party which are coming down upon you, to which he only replied, *And how shall they know me? Demetrius will come into my rescue and assistance.* There was his last hope: but alas! it was in vain; for after he had looked on every side to see if he could perceive *Demetrius* coming to his relief, he was with a storm of Arrows, Darts, and Javelins, born down dead upon the Earth; where being fallen, there remained with him, of all the numerous company of his Flattering followers, not one to take care of his Body after his Death, besides only *Thorax* of *Larissa* the *Thesfalian*; thus ended this fatal Battle, and thus the life of the unfortunate *Antigonus*.

After the unlucky event of this deciding Combat, the Kings, who had gained the Victory, tore all the Empire, which *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* before possessed into pieces, and shared those large Territories among themselves. As for the unfortunate *Demetrius*, he with five thousand Foot, and four thousand Horse marched with great hast to the City of *Ephesus*, where being arrived, it was the common opinion, that he would seize upon the Treasures of *Diana's* Temple, to enable him to raise recruits
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and put himself into a capacity, to arrest the progress of his Enemies Arms, and endeavour to reinstate himself in his former Empire: but he was so far from that, that fearing lest his Soldiers might be tempted to make some such impious attempt, he hastened from thence, and imbarquing the small remains of his Army he sailed for *Athens*; for there it was, that he had placed his greatest hopes, having left there the best part of his Navy, his Treasure, and Queen *Deidamia*; and from them he had not the least doubt, but he should in this his extremity find a seasonable and considerable assistance. And considering what he had done for them, it is no wonder if *Demetrius* was exceedingly surprized, when at the Islands of the *Cyclades*, the *Athenian* Embassadors met him with this ingrateful Message, that he must not think of a retreat to *Athens*, for that the People had made a Decree, that no Crowned Head should be received into their City: as for his Queen *Deidamia*, they conveyed her honourably with attendance suitable to her quality to *Megara*.

Demetrius who had hitherto warded all the Cross blows of Fortune with a dexterous constancy, and marvellous height

height of courage, was not able to bear this without transports and emotions : It was impossible for him to reflect upon his former favours to them, or without the most sensible resentment and displeasure, to find all those applauses, and honours, with which they had oppressed him in his more prosperous Estate, so false and treacherous, as that contrary to his last hopes, and reasonable Expectances, they should so basely desert him in this important turn of Affairs : and from thence he drew a clear inference, *That there can be nothing more uncertain than the Judgment that is drawn, of the Felicity of Princes and Potentates, from the acry Honours, and servile flatteries of a Populace ; since it is difficult if not impossible to determine whether those extraordinary Heats of Popular Favour, are effects of their Inclinations, with respect to the virtue and merit, or of their Fears of the Power of Great and Prosperous Princes ; and that the People are equally transported into extremes, both by Fear and Love.* And therefore Judicious Princes are wisely accustomed, not to value themselves so much upon the erecting of Statues, Triumphant Arches, or paying even Divine Honours to them, as upon the Foundation of their

their own just Actions and Deportment, being assured, that as nothing is more common then for the unconstant multitude to hate excessively those, who receive immoderate Honours from them, even then when they seem most willingly to bestow them.

But *Demetrius*, who found himself at that time not in a Condition to revenge the affront, cunningly dissembled his resentment, and only gently expostulated the matter with the *Athenians*, by his Embassadors, desiring them, that since they would not permit him the Favour of coming to their City, that at least they would be so kind to send him his Gallies, among which there was one of thirteen Ranges of Oars : and this being accorded him, he sailed to the *Isthmus of Peloponesus*, and finding his affairs in very ill condition, his Garrisons being either taken, or revolted to the Enemy, he left *Pyrrhus* to attend the affairs of Greece, and took his course into *Chersonesus*, where he ravaged the Territories of *Lyfimachus*, and by the Booty which he took, both maintained and augmented his shattered Troops, nor did any of the other Princes once go about to impeach his enterprise on that side ; for *Lyfimachus*

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had

had as little reason to be beloved for his virtue, and as much to be feared for his Power, as *Demetrius*; and they were very well satisfied to be Spectators to see them lessen one the other.

In the midst of these transactions, *Seleucus* sent Embassadors to treat with *Demetrius*, for a Marriage betwixt himself and the Fair *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Demetrius* by the Princess *Philla*. It is true, that *Seleucus* had already a Son by *Apamia* the Persian Lady, whose name was *Antiochus*, but it was all true, that he was possessed of so many spacious Territories, as might well satisfy the ambition of more than one Successor; and that which the rather induced him to this Alliance with *Demetrius*, was that *Lysimachus*, to strengthen his Alliances, had married himself to one Daughter of King *Ptolomic*, and his Son *Agathocles* to another. *Demetrius* who looked upon the offer, as an unexpected piece of Good Fortune, presently imbarqued himself and Daughters and with his whole Fleet sailed directly for *Syria*.

During this voyage he was often obliged to touch upon several Coasts, for the benefit of Provisions and fresh Water, and among other places in *Cilicia*; which

by the apportionment of the Kings, after the defeat of *Antigonus*, was allotted to *Plistarchus* the Brother of *Cassander*: *Plistarchus*, who took this Descent of *Demetrius* upon his Coasts as an infraction of the mutual Treaty betwixt the Confederate Princes, posted away to *Cassander*, to oblige him to expostulate the matter with *Seleucus*, and to know the Reason, why he had entered into amity with *Demetrius* the common Enemy, without first acquainting the other Confederates with his intention. *Demetrius* receiving information of this, laid hold of the opportunity of his absence, and suddenly, tacking about, fell upon the City of *Quindon*, and surprised it, and in it a thousand two hundred Talents being part of the Treasure which had been taken in the Battle from his Father *Antigonus*, and with this Prize he hasted to his Gallies, and Embarking himself and his Troops he pursued his voyage.

He was scarcely come to an Anchor on the Coast of *Syria*, before he was met by his Queen *Philla*, the Mother of the beautiful Bride; and immediately after they landed, and were all received by *Seleucus* at the City of *Oroffus*, with all the innocent Freedom and

Royal Gallantry imaginable : first *Seleucus* treated *Demetrius* and his Retinue ashore, in a stately Pavilion in his Camp; and then *Demetrius* entertained his new Son in Law, in a most splendid manner aboard the Admiral's Gally, the then Wonder of the Seas: all these visits were made, to shew their mutual Confidence, without all manner of armed attendants; and the Solemnity was continued for many days, until at length *Seleucus* took his leave, and conducted the fair *Stratonice*, to the City of *Antioch*, where they were welcomed with all the state and solemnity suitable to such an Occasion.

In his return *Demetrius* made a fresh descent upon *Cilicia*, and when he had possessed himself of the whole Province, he sent his Queen *Philla* to her Brother *Cassander*, to answer the Complaints of *Plistarchus*. And here Queen *Deidamia* came by Sea out of Greece to meet him, but by the incommodiousness of that passage, which was too rough for so delicate and tender a constitution, she contracted an indisposition, whereof she shortly died. After her death, *Demetrius*, by the mediation of *Seleucus* became reconciled to King *Ptolomy*, in so much that he married his Daughter

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Ptolemaida : But the Generous deportment of *Seleucus* to this unfortunate Prince was not long liv'd; for shortly after, desiring to have the Province of *Cilicia* from *Demetrius*, for which he offered him a sum of money, and being refused it, in great indignation he then demanded of him the Cities of *Tyre* and *Sidon*, rather with a design to beget a quarrel, than upon the least pretension of Right or necessity : and certainly it was a very mean and unworthy baseness in him, who was possessed of all the vast Provinces between *India* and the *Syrian Ocean*, for two poor Cities, which he unjustly coveted, to disturb the Peace of his Father in Law, who had already suffered so insupportable a change of Fortune : but herein he made good the opinion of the Divine *Plato*, That the certain Way to be truly Rich, is not to be so solicitous to increase a Fortune, as to give Limits to our own desires. For whoever is always grasping at more, confesses he is still in want, and is therefore miserable and poor, because in the midst of all his affluence he wants that contentment and moderation of his desires, which only can render any Person Rich and happy.

But *Demetrius* whose courage was

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not

not sunk with his Fortune, resolutely sent him this answer, that though he were to be vanquish'd a thousand times over again, he would never purchase the friendship of *Seleucus* at so tame a Rate; and therefore to secure them against his attempts, he reinforced those strong Cities with sufficient Garrisons, and all manner of Warlike stores, to enable them to make a brave defence against *Seleucus*, if his insatiable ambition should tempt him to attack them. Having taken care of these important Places, and receiving information, that one *Lacharis*, taking the opportunity of their civil Dissentions, had set up himself as an Usurper over the *Athenians*, he imagined that if he made a suddain attempt upon the City, he might now reduce it to his Obedience, and therefore with great diligence he sail'd with a powerful Navy towards *Greece*: But Fortune, who was now grown very uncourtly to him, treated him with so rough a tempest, just when he came upon the Coast, that he lost divers of his Vessels, and a great number of Soldiers, which were aboard them. As for himself he escap'd, and began to make a little kind of War with the *Athenians*, but finding himself unable to effect his design, he set

to assemble the rest of his Fleet and Forces, which had been dispersed by the late storm, and with those Troops which he had he marched and laid Siege to the City of *Messena*. While he lay before this place, he ran one of the greatest dangers of his whole life, for in making an attack, upon the Turn, an arrow from an *Engine* struck him full in the mouth, and pass'd clear thorough his Jaw; but by the skill and Care of his Chirurgeons, it was not long before it was healed; and as soon as he was in a condition to take the field, he regain'd divers Cities which had revolted from him, and made an incursion into the Territories of the *Athenians*, where he took *Eleusina* and *Rhamnus*, and wasted all the whole Country thereabout. And that he might straiten the *Athenians* by cutting off all manner of Provision, a Vessel laden with Corn bound thither, falling into his hands, he ordered the Master, and Marchant who had freighted her to be immediately hanged, thereby to strike a terror into others, that so they might not adventure to supply the City with Provisions; by which means they were reduced to such extremities that a bushel of salt was worth forty drach-

ma's of Silver, and a bushel of wheat was sold at the excessive Rate of three hundred. In this distress, *Ptolomy* had sent to their relief an hundred and fifty Gallies, which came so near as to anchor before *Egina*, but this short blaze of Hope was soon Extinguished by the arrival of three hundred, sail which came to the assistance of *Demetrius* from *Cyprus Peloponesus*, and other places, which struck such a pannick fear into the *Egyptians*, that they cut and slipp'd their Anchors, and with Sails and Oars stood away for *Egypt*: which the Tyrant *Lacharis* understanding he instantly quitted the City in order to his own safety and preservation.

And now the *Athenians*, who, before by a Popular Edict, had made it Capital for any person so much as to propose a treaty, or accommodation with *Demetrius*, were compelled to send Embassadors to him, not so much out of hopes of obtaining any honorable Conditions from his Clemency, as out of pure necessity, and to avoid a lingering Death by Famine, a domestique Enemy, which they were not able to resist: for this imperious Tyrant had reduced them to those extremities, that there happened many odd adventures during the

the time of the Siege, the effects of his irresistible Power: among which this story is very remarkable, that one day, a Father with his Son, sitting disconsolately in their House, lamenting their deplorable condition, which had not left them any thing to sustain their lives, a dead Rat happened to drop from the Cieling between them; whereupon they immediately fell into a mortal scuffle, which of them should have the venison for his dinner: And in this Famine, the Philosopher *Epicurus*, so celebrated for indulging his appetite, was forced to save his own, and the lives of his Schollers, by a small quantity of Beans, which by number were every day distributed to them.

In this miserable condition was the City when *Demetrius* made his publique Entrance, and he was no sooner possessed of the Place, but he made Proclamation, that all the Inhabitants should instantly assemble in the publique Theatre, which being done he surrounded them with his Armed Troops, setting also a strong Guard about the Stage. This administred no small terror and perplexity to the amazed People, who looked for nothing less then a Tragedy of Executions; but it was not long

long before he dissipated those Fears, for entering the Stage in Person by the Palace, through which the Actors used to Enter, he made an Oration to them, wherein he only gently reprehended their former ill treatment of him, but with all told them, that he would receive them again into his Grace and Favour : And that it might appear his Intentions were real, he bestowed amongst them the welcome Donative of a hundred thousand Bushels of Wheat; and to ingratiate himself the more, he promoted such Persons into the Office of the Magistracy as he knew to be most agreeable to the People : so that nothing now was heard but lowd acclamations of joy among the Athenians, and the Stages resounded with speeches in the praise of *Demetrius*; all the celebrated Orators of the City vying with one another in commendation of his Generosity : and upon this occasion the Orator *Dromoclides* proposed a Decree, that the Port of *Pyncum*, and the strong Citadel of *Munychia*, might be put into the power of *Demetrius* to use them at his own Discretion, which was no sooner offered than passed by unanimous suffrage of the People, and *Demetrius* having put strong Garrisons into

into those two places, by his own Authority placed another in the *Museum*, to the end that those People, who had shewed so much Levity in their dispositions, might be kept in subjection, and not by their future perfidies be able to divert him from the prosecution of his other enterprizes.

He had not been long Master of *Athens* before he had formed a Design against the *Lacedemonians*, of which, *Archidamus* their King being advertised, he to prevent it, drew out an Army and marched against *Demetrius*; but in this wise Method of carrying War out of his own Territories, he had not Fortune answerable to his Courage, for he was overthrown in a Battle near the City *Mantineia*; and *Demetrius* following his blow entered the *Laconian* Confines, and in a second Battle defeated him almost within view of the City of *Sparta*, wherein two hundred *Lacedemonians* were slain, and five hundred taken Prisoners; and now it was esteemed almost impossible, for the virgin City of *Sparta*, which hitherto had never submitted to a Conquerour, to escape being ravished by his victorious Arms. But certainly, there never was any Prince, upon whom Fortune made

made such short Turns, mounting him to the Pinacles of hope and Glory, from thence to precipitate him into the utmost despair and misery: to day he would be great and Potent, to morrow weak and broken, even almost beyond the relief of Hopes or Miracles, which made him sometimes in the low Ebb of his adverse condition reproach that incessant Goddess with these verses of the Poet *Æschilus*,

*Fortune of all the Deities most vain,
Does lift me up, to throw me down again.*

Nor was there any period of his life in which she appeared more Capricious than in this rancountre, for when all things seemed so gloriously to conspire, not only to the reestablishing, but enlargement of his Greatness and Empire, an express arrived, which brought him the dismal account, that *Lyfimachus*, with a mighty Army, had taken all the Cities of which he was possessed in *Asia*; Nor was this a single misfortune, for at the same time he was informed, that *Ptolomy* had subdued the whole Island of *Cyprus*, except the City of *Salamine*, where his Mother and Children were closely besieged, and in extreme dan-

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ger: by which surprizing Intelligence, the City of *Sparta* was delivered from that imminent fear and danger.

But yet Fortune seemed to Flatter him with hopes upon another occasion, treating him like the Woman in the Play of *Archilocus*.

*Who Water in one cheating hand did
shew*

*Whilest in the other dreadful fire
did glow.*

For *Cassander* King of *Macedon* dying; and his eldest Son, who succeeded him, not long surviving his Father, the two younger Brothers fell at variance concerning the Succession; And *Antipater* having barbarously murdered his own Mother *Theffalonice*, *Alexander* the younger Brother, fearing his savage and outrageous inclinations, called into his assistance *Pyrrhus* King of *Epirus*, and *Demetrius*, who was then in *Peloponesus*: *Pyrrhus* made all imaginable expedition to his succour, and did it effectually; but for a recompence he held a great part of the Country, which he had taken from *Antipater*, which begot a suspicion in *Alexander*, that he had brought upon himself a dangerous neighbour; and that he might not run a greater hazard from *Demetrius*, whose ambition Power and

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Reputation among the *Macedonians* was such as might well create a jealousy of him; this young Prince therefore posted away to the City of *Deinon*, where he understood *Demetrius* was come with his Army, in compliance with the request he had made him by his Letters; when he arrived there, he applied himself with great respects to *Demetrius*, and returned him high acknowledgments for his readiness to assist him, but withal gave him to understand, that now his affairs were in so good posture, that he had no occasion to give him any further trouble: and thereupon invited him to an entertainment which he had provided for him, in some measure to shew how sensible he was of his Favours. But as *Demetrius* was about to go to the place of Assignment, one came and whispered in his Ear, that there was a train laid, that in the midst of the Jollity *Demetrius* was to be taken off. *Demetrius* who before began to suspect the treachery of *Alexander*, seemed not much concerned, but making only a little less haste, he sent to the principal Officers of his Army command, to draw out the Soldiers and make them stand to their Arms, and ordered those of his retinue, to attend him

him into the very Room of the entertainment, and not to stir from thence, till they saw him rise from the Table. In this equipage he came to *Alexander*, and his Servants, who were to have performed the Execution, finding themselves overpowered, had not courage to attempt any thing upon him; and indeed *Demetrius* gave them no opportunity for he made a very short visit, and pretending to *Alexander*, that he was not at present disposed to be a good Companion, in regard that he had just now received advices, which obliged him by the necessity of his affairs to march away with his Army the next day; he therefore desired his excuse for the present, assuring him, that he would do himself the honour to wait upon him, when his affairs would permit him better Leisure.

Alexander was extremely overjoyed, not only at this Resolution of his departure, but that it appeared voluntary, and without any sort of Disgust, for he did not know that his Plot was discovered; and therefore in a Complement he would by all means accompany *Demetrius* unto the confines of his Dominions; when they were arrived at *Larissa* a City of *Thessaly*, new Invitations

tions passed between them, which were the outward appearances of respect and civility; but secretly intended for each others destructions; and this young Prince, who thought to avoid a second miscarriage in his design against the Life of *Demetrius*, drew the misfortune upon himself, for going to an Invitation, which *Demetrius* had made him; that he might bring him into a like security and Confidence by his example, he dismissed his ordinary Guards, and went slenderly attended with some of his most particular Friends; when they had sitten a little time *Demetrius* hastily arising from the Table, the surprized young Prince rose also, and followed him just to the door, where *Demetrius*, as he passed through, only said to the Guards, *Kill him that follows me.* Which being *Alexander*, they immediately dispatched him, and such of his Friends as indeavoured to come to his Rescue, one of which, before he died, said, *You have prevented us but by one day.*

It is very easie to apprehend, that this action made this night pass over with great fears and disorders among the *Macedonians*, who followed *Alexander*; nor was the horror of the darkness much relieved by the succeeding beams of

of that day, which they had reason to suspect from the Power and resentments of *Demetrius*, would be their last; but these fears were dissipated with the darkness; for there was not any manner of violence offered them; but *Demetrius* sent to desire them to come into his presence, for that he was desirous to give them satisfaction, for what had happened to *Alexander*: it is not difficult to believe that they went cheerfully to give him the hearing, and therefore *Demetrius* having acquainted them with the baseness and treachery of *Alexander*, and his good Intentions toward them, there was no necessity to make a long harangue to draw those to his Party, who saw their Lives lay at his mercy; besides, there being none remaining of the Family of *Cassander*, but only *Antipater*, whose hands yet blushed with the blood of the Queen his Mother, and who for this abominable Parricide was equally infamous and odious to the People, and not being sensible of a Person more worthy than *Demetrius*, upon whom they might, if at liberty, fix their choice, they instantly proclaimed him King of *Macedon*, whereupon he presently returned to take possession of this new Kingdom, which

Fortune had so unexpectedly thrown into his Arms. Nor was this choice at all disagreeable to the rest of the *Macedonians*, who remained at home, who had not yet forget their resentments against *Cassander*, for his detestable treachery to *Alexander* the Great, of whom they suspected him the cruel murderer: And all that kindness which they had formerly had for *Antipater* the Father of *Cassander*, was now centred upon *Demetrius*, who had married his grandchild *Philla*; and the young Prince which he had by her, who was now in the Camp, serving his apprenticeship in the Trade of War, under the Conduct of his Father *Demetrius*. And to add to this unexpected good Fortune, an express arrived, which brought him the welcom news, that *Ptolomy* had generously dismissed his mother and Children bestowing upon them magnificent presents and honors; and also that his Daughter *Stratonice*, whom he had married to *Seleucus*, was, by a pretty kind of adventure, remarried to *Antiochus* the Son of *Seleucus*, and Crowned Queen of all the Provinces of upper *Asia*, which happened thus.

This Prince *Antiochus* become passionately in love with the beautiful *Stratonice*

Stratonice the young Queen, who had now made *Seleucus* the Father of a little Son, he struggled at first, very hard with the beginnings of this extravagant Passion, but finding on the one hand, an impossibility to extinguish those flames her fair eyes had kindled, and on the other, that it was equally difficult to obtain his desires, he saw no other Remedy for his hopeless misfortune, but what was to be expected from despair and Death, which he therefore resolved upon, and in order to it, by feigning an Indisposition, to languish out his amorous soul, by voluntarily refusing all manner of nourishment for the support of his life. *Erasistratus*, the Physician who attended him, quickly perceived, that Love was his distemper, but all the difficulty was to discover the Object of his flame: he therefore dilligently waited in his chamber, and when any of the charming Beauties of the Court made their visits to the sick Prince, he curiously observed, the emotions and alterations in the countenance of *Antiochus*, which he well knew, were wont upon such surprises, to betray the inward passions and inclinations of the soul: He therefore took Notice, that the presence of the

Court Ladies wrought no manner of alteration in him; but when *Stratonice* came alone, or in company with *Seleucus*, to make him a visit, he observed in him all those symptoms of a most violent Passion, which are so tenderly expressed by the ingenious *Sappho*, he became suddenly mute and silent, his passion smothering his words, a fiery blush would mount into his Face, he would fix his Eyes upon *Stratonice*, and then presently withdraw those stollen and guilty looks: his pulse would be disordered, a cold sweat would seize upon him, and unable to support the violent Passion he would become senseless and pale as that Death which he so much desired.

Erasistratus from these infallible symptoms manifestly perceived that *Stratonice* was the dear Object of his Passion, and that he had taken a resolution rather to perish than discover his Love; he evidently saw that he was in danger of his life, if he did not find out some way, to apply the only Remedy which was capable of giving him recovery: and yet he could not but tremble to think of making a discovery of that Nature to *Seleucus*; but considering the extraordinary tender-

ness of *Seleucus* to the Prince; and the King one morning enquiring of his condition, he put on all the assurance he could, and told him, *Sir, the Prince's disease is Love, and he is incurable, because it is impossible for him to enjoy the Object of his passion, and impossible for him to live without it.* The King was extremely surprized at this account which the Physician gave him, but would by no means be satisfied till he understood, how his Passion should be incurable. *Why Sir,* replied *Erasistratus*, *because he is in love with my Wife.* How! said *Seleucus*, *Will Erasistratus, my Dear Erasistratus, refuse me the kindness, to bestow his Wife upon my Son and Successor; when there is no other way to save his life?* Nay then *Sir*, replied *Erasistratus*, *You, who are his Father, and upon that consideration, ought to have all the tenderness imaginable for a Son, pray would you take the Counsel which you give me; and if Antiochus were thus desperately in Love with Stratonice, would you so easily resign your interest to him?* Ah my Dear Friend! answered *Seleucus*, *may some kind God or Man, put the safety of the Prince upon that Issue; I would part not only with Stratonice, but my Empire upon condition that I might preserve Antiochus,*

Dearest Antiochus ; and with that the tears forced themselves a violent passage over his aged cheeks. Whereupon *Erasistratus* taking him by the hand, Sir, said he, *You have then no need of the assistance of Erasistratus, for you, who are a Husband, a Father, and a King, are the most proper and in this case only Physician for your own Family, 'tis you only that can recover the life of Prince Antiochus, by resigning to him Stratonice, for that's his Disease.*

Whereupon *Seleucus*, instantly summoning a Counsel of all his great Officers, declared unto them, the state of this Affair, and that he was resolved, to bestow *Stratonice* upon the Prince, and to create him King, and her the Queen of all the Provinces of the higher *Asia*; telling them, that he thought he had so absolute a Power over the Princes will, that he hoped he should find in him no repugnance to obey his Commands ; and for the Queen he hoped all his Friends would endeavour to make her sensible, if she manifested any Reluctancy to this Marriage, that she ought to esteem those things just and honorable, which were so absolutely necessary, to the general and publique Good. And by these Arguments, *Stratonice* was

perswaded to this second Marriage, which quickly restored the health of *Antiochus*, and was celebrated with extraordinary Joy and Solemnity.

But to return to the affairs of *Demetrius*, he having obtained the Crown of *Macedon*, and being possessed of *Thessalia*, and the greatest part of *Peloponessus*, the Cities of *Megara* and *Athens*, the two Keys of the *Iskms*, he turned his victorious Arms against the *Bæotians*; these People at first made some overture of an accommodation, but *Cleonymus* of *Sparta* coming to their assistance, and reinforcing the City of *Thebes* with a considerable Garrison, and one *Pisistratus* a *Thessian*, who had a great influence upon the People, animating them to make a brave resistance, they brake off the Treaty and betook themselves to Arms : But no sooner had *Demetrius* begun to approach the Walls with his dreadful Engines, but *Cleonymus* affrighted at the sight of them, secretly withdrew himself; and thereupon the *Bæotians*, finding themselves abandoned by this cowardly confederate, they surrendered the City to *Demetrius*, who put strong Garrisons into the cheifest Towns, and having drawn a good round sum of money from them, he

placed *Hieronimus* the Historian, as his Deputy Governor; but as to the main he treated those vanquished People very obligingly, and particularly *Pisis*, to whom he not only frankly restored his Liberty, but also made him Governor over the *Theſpians*.

It happened, not long after, that *Lyſimachus* had the misfortune to be taken Prisoner by *Dromickates*, whereupon *Demetrius* haſted with his Army into *Thracia*, in hopes that in the diſorder, into which this accident muſt have put the affairs of that Province, he might find an opportunity to repoſſeſs himſelf of it; but *Lyſimachus* unexpectedly regaining his Liberty, and the newly conquered *Bæotians*, breaking out into a general Revolt, he was obliged to retire with his Army, and in great haſte, to look after his own affairs at home. Upon his return he found that his Son *Antigonus* had in a Battle defeated the Forces of the *Bæotians*, and therefore he preſently laid Siege to *Thebes*, whither they had retreated with their broken Troopes: but underſtanding that *Pyrrhus* had made an incuſſion into *Theſſaly*, and that he was advanced as far as *Thermopylon*, leaving *Antigonus* to continue the Siege, he marched with the

the reſt of his Army to oppoſe the King of *Epyrus*; But *Pyrrhus* gave him no occaſion to exerciſe his Courage; for upon the firſt news of his approach, he made a very haſty retreat out of the Country, whereupon *Demetrius*, leaving ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe for the Guard of *Theſſaly*, he returned to the Siege of *Thebes*, and there he brought his dreadful Ingine in order to ſtorm the City, but by reaſon of its unwieldy Bulk, and the unevenneſs of the Ground, it was moved with ſuch labour and difficulty, that in two Months, it did not advance two furlongs; In the mean time the Citizens made a ſtout defence, and *Demetrius*, who was reſolute to be revenged on them for their Perfidy, obſtinately maintained the Siege, and expoſed himſelf and his Soldiers to very hard and dangerous ſervice, inſomuch that *Antigonus*, obſerving that many gallant Men daily loſt their lives, being ſenſibly mov'd with pity, he addreſſed himſelf to the King his Father, and finding him as he thought in good humor, Sir, ſaid he, *I beſeech your Majeſty, what reaſon is there to expoſe ſo many valiant Men to ſuch continual danger, without a greater neceſſity, when* ——— But *De-*
metrius

metrius in a great passion, without permitting him to proceed, *And you good Sir, why do you afflict yourself for this Matter, the more there are kill'd, the fewer there will be for you to make a provision for.* But that the Soldiers might see he valued his own life at no dearer rate than theirs, he exposed himself, to the same dangers to which he commanded them; and in a desperate attack, which he one day made, he was wounded with a Javelin, which struck quite through his neck, and put him into very great hazard of his life: but notwithstanding his illness he continued the Siege, and in conclusion took the Town; and after his entrance, when the Citizens expected all the severities which an incensed Conquerour could inflict, he only put to death thirteen of the Capital Rebels, and banished some few others, graciously pardoning all the rest: Thus the City of *Thebes* after it had been so long raised from its ruins, was twice taken in the space of those ten years.

Shortly after, the Festivals of the *Pythian Apollo*, being to be celebrated, and the *Ætolians*, having blocked up all the passages to *Delphos*, *Demetrius* caused them to be kept at *Athens*, alledg-

ing it was great reason those Honours should be paid to *Apollo* in that place, both in regard he was the Tutelar Divinity of that City, and that the *Athenians* pretended to derive from him their Original and Pedigree.

From thence *Demetrius* returned to *Macedon*, and being not only of a Restless Temper himself, but considering the Genius of the *Macedonians*, who were ever the best Subjects when employed in military expeditions, but seditiously busie and desirous of change in the Idleness of Peace, he led them against the *Ætolians*, and having wasted their Country, he left *Pantanchus*, with a great part of his Army to perfect the Conquest, and with the rest he marched in Person to find out *Pyrrhus*; but so it fell out, that by taking different wayes, these two Armies did not meet, but whilest *Demetrius*, entred *Epjrus*, and laid all waste before him, *Pyrrhus* at the same time encountred *Pantanchus*, where in the heat of the Combat, the two Chief Commanders, meeting, bountifully entertained one the other with the Complements of their swords, till their Arms blushed at that kind of rude Civility, but in conclusion victory perched upon the Standards of *Pyrrhus*, who

who besides great numbers slain upon the place, took five thousand Prisoners.

This blow would not have been so considerable as to have given *Demetrius* any great Hurt, had it not been, that *Pyrrhus*, by his brave and fierce deportment in this encounter, did not only win the Glory of the field, but the hearts of the inconstant *Macedonians*; for now they began lowdly to proclaim, that they saw in him the very picture of the hardy Courage and personal bravery of their adored *Alexander*; whereas the other Kings his Successors, and particularly *Demetrius*, they said, resembled him in nothing so much as in his extravagant Humors and haughty vanity: And to say nothing but truth, *Demetrius* was something so affected in his Garb, as too nearly related to the Pageantry of the Theatre. For not only his body was used to be clothed with the most exquisite travels of the needle in Gold and Purple Robes, and his head incircled with the uncommon Novelty of a double Diadem, but even his shoes were made of curiously embroidered Purple with Golden souls: And such was the profuse vanity of this Prince, that he had commanded

a Robe to be made for him, wherein with proud Art, there was to be wrought the Representation of the Universe, Sea and Land, the Celestial Bodies and Figures of the Sun, with all his Golden Glories, and the Silver Moon, and the sparking Courtiers of the Night, which were to be imitated with the richest Diamonds that could be procured. But the Reverse of his more gloomy Fortune overtaking him, the work was never finished; but as it was, it was long preserved as a Monument of his magnificent vanity: Not any of the Kings of *Macedon* his Successors, though reported divers of them to be haughty enough, arriving to that degree of Pride, to have it finished, or to adventure to wear it.

But it was not this outward Garb and Pomp alone which disgusted the *Macedonians*, but his profuse and dissolute Way of living; and above all the difficulty of access to his presence was extremely disobliging: For either he would not be seen at all by such as attended long for dispatch of their affairs, or if he permitted them to come before him, he would treat them roughly and with disrespect; nor were only private persons thus used by him,
but

but even such Ministers as negotiated publique affairs: Thus he made the *Athenian* Embassadors, to whom yet he was more civil than to all the other *Grecians*, attend two years in his Court, before they could obtain an Audience from him; at another time when the *Lacedemonians* sent a single Person on an Embassy to him, thinking it was done in contempt, in great indignation he demanded of him, *Whether the Spartans had but one Man that was fit to be sent upon an Embassy since they sent no more?* To whom the Embassador according to the *Laconian* mode, tartly replied; *Sure one Embassador is enough to send to one King.*

It chanced one time that an humor took him, to be a little more than ordinarily Popular, and therefore going abroad, he was immediately accosted by a multitude of importunate Petitioners; he very courteously received their Supplications, and put up their Petitions in the skirt of his Robe, the poor People over joyed at this unusual Grace and Favour followed him close, in hope to be presently dispatched in their suits; but when he came upon the Bridge of the River *Axins*, opening his lap, he drop'd all the Petitions into the River.

This

This action did strangely exasperate the *Macedonians*, who seeing their Hopes and Petitions both drowned, looked upon it as a very injurious and unkingly Frolique: and this brought to their remembrance, what some of them had seen, and others had heard related of King *Philip*, who by a pretty accident was reclaimed from this disobliging humor; for King *Philip* being one day abroad, an old Woman made her application to him with a Petition, the King told her, he could not then dispatch her, in regard he had affairs of greater importance upon his hands, to which the old Woman in a pet replied, *What! greater then doing Justice? if you refuse to do Justice, pray lay aside your Royalty, and leave being a King.* This sharp reprimand, so nettled the King, that returning to the Palace, and setting all other matters apart, for several dayes together he did nothing else, but receive the complaints of all that would come, and redressed their real grievances, to the general contentment and satisfaction of his People.

And certainly there is no other virtue more commendable or popular in a Prince than Justice; which made *Timotheus* say that *Mars* is a great Tyrant, but

but Law, according to the incomparable *Pindar*, is the most Glorious Queen of the Universe. And upon this subject, *Homer*, the Prince of Poets, observes, that *Jupiter* did not bestow upon Kings, terrible Ingines or Ships of War for the destruction of Cities, but had committed the Oracles of Law and Justice to their Custody in order to their good Government and preservation, and that the most just Princes, and not the fierce and violent, were the Genuine Offspring of the Gods. But *Demetrius* was not at all solicitous of the Title of such a King as resembled the Gods; for disdaining the appellations of *Polien*, or *Polionkos* the Tutelary preserver of Cities, he rather affected the Name of *Poliorcetes*, the Destroyer of Cities. By his affected folly mistaking the very nature of vice and vertue, placing his glory in injustice, and esteeming base and ungenerous actions, as if they had been the laudable Ornaments of a virtuous Prince.

But to return to the historial pursuit of his life, *Demetrius* being at *Pella*, fell into a desperate malady, the true daughter of Intemperance and Luxury; and while he lay struggling with the violence of the distemper, *Pyrrhus* lay-

ing

ing hold of this occasion, took from him the greatest part of *Macedon*, and advanced as far as the City of *Edeffa*. But *Demetrius* recovering his health, quickly recovered from him his Dominions also, and obliged *Pyrrhus*, to content himself with his own Kingdom. And that he might not imploy his whole time in these little conflicts with a neighbour, his thoughts being fixed upon another design from which he was unwilling to be diverted by this petty War, he concluded a Peace with *Pyrrhus*. For now he had formed a design to indeavour the recovery of the whole Empire which his Father had possessed; and his preparations were every way suitable to his aspiring Hopes, and the greatness of the Enterprize. He gave out Commissions for the levying of ninety eight thousand Foot, and twelve thousand Horse; and orders for the building and rigging out a Fleet of five hundred Gallies; some to be built at *Athens*, others at *Corinth*, *Chalcis* and *Pella*. And so assiduons and diligent was he, in the forwarding of these vast preparations, that he was continually posting from place to place, to give advice and direction to the Carpenters and Artificers for the building them,

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more

more strong and serviceable : And here he was so great a Master, that the *Arrians* themselves, as well as all others were amazed, not so much at the number, as at the stupendous bulck and contrivance of this extraordinary Navy; for hitherto there had never been seen a Gally with fifteen or sixteen ranges of Oars. It is true, that afterwards *Ptolemy Philopater* built a prodigious Gally of eighty Rows of Oars, which was two hundred and eighty Cubits in length, and the height of her from the Water to the top of her stern was forty eight Cubits, she had four hundred Mariners, and four thousand Rowers, and besides there was convenient standing for very near three thousand Soldiers to fight above the Decks. But this unwieldy Hulk after all this was only fit for shew, and not for service, for she looked like an invulnerable Castle upon the Water, and was not to be moved without extreme toil and peril; whereas these Gallies of *Demetrius* were not the less serviceable for their magnificence, but notwithstanding their beauty and ornaments, were as light and nimble, as they were extraordinary and sumptuous.

The Noise and storm of these great

preparations; the like whereof had never been made since the expedition of *Alexander* the Great, threatening to fall upon *Asia*, awakened *Seleucus*, *Ptolemy*, and *Lysimachus* to look to themselves, which obliged them to enter into a confederacy for their mutual defence and security: They therefore dispatched Embassadors to *Pyrrhus*, to represent to him the necessity of rejecting the peace he had made which *Demetrius*, and to persuade him to give him a diversion, by making an incursion into *Macedon*, for that *Demetrius* had only concluded the late peace with him, to be at liberty to prosecute his greater designs, and that should he become Victorious, he would too late be sensible of the danger of so potent a Neighbour. *Pyrrhus* finding reason in the proposition, presently closed with them; so that in an instant *Ptolemy* with a mighty Navy invaded *Greece*, *Lysimachus* entred *Macedon* upon the side of *Thracia*, and *Pyrrhus* fell in upon that part next to *Epirus*, spoiling and wasting the whole Country. This was an unexpected surprize to *Demetrius*; but however, leaving his Son *Antigonus* to look after the affairs of *Greece*, he marched in great diligence to the relief of *Macedon*, and to oppose *Lysimachus*.

chun: He was no sooner arrived near the Frontier, but he received the ill news that *Pyrrhus* had taken the City *Beroea*: and the report being once gotten among the Souldiers, the whole Camp was filled with disorders and Confusion, Cries and Lamentations; the Souldiers grew insolent and mutinous, and bestowing a thousand execrations upon *Demetrius*, they openly declared, that they would March home to take care of their Country, Friends, and Families, but in reality the design was to revolt to *Lysimachus*.

Demetrius finding them in these distempers, resolved to remove further from *Lysimachus*, for he judged, that though by reason of their former kindness to that Prince, under whose conduct many of them had served in the Wars of *Alexander*, might make them unwilling to combat with him, yet they would make no difficulty to oppose *Pyrrhus* a foreigner and invader, who had spoiled their Country: but he found himself under great mistakes in these conjectures, for when he was advanced near to *Pyrrhus*, these Mutineers took occasion to extol the gallantry and Courage of *Pyrrhus*, his generous usage of those who had been his Prisoners, and to declare,

that

that the Kingdom by the fundamental custom, the Law of Antiquity, ought to devolve upon the bravest man; and in short to meditate a general defection and revolt: For at first some stragling parties only deserted, but in a little time the whole Army broke out into an universal Mutiny; insomuch that some of them insolently told him, that if he consulted his own safety, he were best to make haste to be gone, for that the *Macedonians* were resolved no longer to hazard their Lives, to combat for the satisfaction of his Luxury and Ambition, these were moderate reproaches in comparison of some others which he was obliged to endure; and therefore easily guessing what would be the issue, if he should expose himself longer to their Rage, he retired to his Tent, and putting off the Imperial Purple, stole away in the disguised habit of a private Souldier; and he was no sooner gone, but the Mutinous Army were all together by the Ears about the plunder of his Tent, but *Pyrrhus* coming immediately repressed their fury, and took possession of it himself, and he with *Lysimachus* parted the Realm of *Macedon* betwixt them, after *Demetrius* had possessed it just seven years.

As for *Demetrius*, being thus suddenly despoiled of his Crown, he retired to *Cassandria*, where Queen *Phila*, oppressed with unsupportable grief, to see her Husband from the top of his Glory, reduced to the despicable condition of a private and banished person, reproaching Fortune for her blind inconstancy, and overcome with the violence of her despair, she took a fatal Potion, chusing rather to end her days with the quick operation of the Mortal Drug, than to languish out a miserable life in the tedious delays of an adverse fortune. But *Demetrius* did not love her so well as to bear her company in that sort of Nectar, as great a friend as he was to liquors; but kept his hopes still warm at the heart; and studying how to repair the Shipwreck of his affairs he parted for *Greece*, and there assembled all his friends and Captains, who had formerly served him, in order to the forming an Army to endeavour the Recovery of his former dignity and Dominions; and one may well apply that of *Sophocles* concerning *Menelaus* to the various changes of this Princes Estate.

*Mounted on Fortunes ever Rolling Wheel,
Like that inconstant Deity I reel.*

*Or like the Fickle Lady of the Night,
Who still puts on a different dress of Light.
A Silver Cornet first adorns her head,
And the pale Beauty still does larger spread.
Till her grown Lustre, blushing Stars admire,
And hide their out of Countenance sparks
of Fire;
But then her dwindling Glories fade again,
And are reduced to their former Wane.*

And certainly this changeable Planet was the exact Emblem of this Prince, whose Accessions of Glory, and Eclipses of Honour, his Rises and Falls are perfectly figured by her several faces; for even when his expiring Glory seemed to give the last Gaspes, his power would strangely revive and his hopes flourish, as they did at this time by the coming of divers troops to his assistance, which gave him encouragement to hope for the reestablishment of his affairs: He had not however, since his last disgrace, reassumed the Royal Robe, whereupon a certain *Theban* seeing him in the mean habit of a private Person, applied to him the Distick of *Euripides*.

*Of an immortal God, again a Mortal made,
He courts Ismenas Banks, and Dirces cooler
Shade.*

But

But so soon as he began to entertain a prospect of hope, of the change of his fortune, he again reassumed the Regal Habit, and kept a little kind of Court at *Thebes*, though at the same time he restored their Democrattick Government to that City.

As for the treacherous *Athenians*, in this misfortune they again basely deserted him, and to do him the greater disgrace, they displaced *Diphilus*, who was that year the Priest of the * two Tular Deities, and by a popular Edict restored the Priesthood to its ancient form, and hearing that *Demetrius* grew very powerful, they sent to King *Pyrrhus* to beg his assistance and protection. *Demetrius* justly enraged against them for their repeated perfidies, marched to *Athens*, and laid close siege to the City: In this distress they sent out to him *Craterus* the Philosopher, a person of great Authority and Reputation, to mediate a Composure, who managed his negotiation with so much dexterity, that what with his humble intreaties and remonstrances, and the solid reasons which he offered, *Demetrius* was perswaded to raise the siege; and shipping his Army which consisted of eleven thousand men, he resolved upon an expedition into *Cari*
and

* The Title
of Antigon-
us and
Demetrius.

and *Lydia*, to take those Provinces from *Lysimachus*, arriving at *Miletus*, he was met there by *Euridice* the Sister of *Philla*, his deceased Lady, who brought along with her *Ptolemaida*, the Daughter whom she had by King *Ptolomy*, which young Lady had before been affianced to *Demetrius*, and with whom he now consummated his Nuptials; but he was too intent upon his other designs to be diverted from them by this new Amour; and therefore he presently began the Campaign, and was so fortunate in the beginning, that many Cities revolted to him, and others, as particularly the City of *Sardis*, he took by force; diverse troops of *Lysimachus* also came over to him with a considerable Sum of Money. But his fortune which was never constant was now never lasting; for *Agathocles* the Son of *Lisimachus* with a powerful Army made head against him; which obliged him with his Army to divert into *Phrygia*, with an intention to pass into *Armenia*; for he had an imagination, that if he could perswade the *Medes* or *Armenians* to revolt, he should thereby gain many convenient Sea Ports, and places of Retreat, to secure him against any ill accident or disaster that might befall him: *Agathocles*

cles pressed very hard upon him, and many skirmishes and conflicts passed between parties, wherein *Demetrius* had still the advantage: But *Agathocles* being much Superiour in number straightned him so much in his Forrage, that his Souldiers were forced to conflict more with Famine than with their Enemies, and shewed a great unwillingness to go into *Armenia* and *Media*, so that for fresh quarters he was obliged to pass over the River *Lycus*, and in the passage, many of his Men, by the rapidness of the Torrent, were carried down the stream and drowned: This mischance exasperated the Souldiers to that degree, that one of them fixed this paper upon the door of his Pavilion, taken out of *OEdipus* with a little variation of the Name.

*Thou Son of blind Antigonus,
Whither dost mean to hurry us.*

And to add to his misfortune, the Pestilence, as is usual, when Armies are driven to such necessities, as to subsist upon unwholsom Diet, began to afflict them as well as the Famine, so that he lost eight thousand of his Men, and with the rest he retired to *Tarsus*, and be-

cause that City was under the Dominion of *Seleucus*, he strictly prohibited his Souldiers the committing any manner of outrages or violence, being unwilling to create himself a new Enemy of *Seleucus*; but when he perceived it was impossible to keep the Souldiers in order, they being reduced to extream necessity, and *Agathocles* having blocked up all the Avenues of Mount *Taurus*, to prevent their foraging in his Territories, he resolved to write to *Seleucus* to appease him in this matter: The Letter contained a long and tragical Relation of the miserable state to which he was reduced, and passionate intercessions for his commiseration to a distressed King and Relation; who was fallen into such a deplorable condition, as might extort tenderness and Pity from his very Enemies.

These Letters did so mollifie the heart of *Seleucus*, that he gave out positive Orders, to the Governours of those Provinces, that they should furnish *Demetrius*, with all accommodations suitable to his Royal Quality, and with sufficient Provisions for his Troops. But *Patrocles* a person of great Authority and the Confident of *Seleucus*, perswaded him, that this entertainment of *Demetrius*,

metrius, especially of his Souldiers, with in his Dominions, was not at all agreeable to the sound Maxims of Policy; in regard, that of all the Kings of his time, *Demetrius*, was the most violent in his inclinations, and addicted to bold and daring enterprises; and that now being driven to extremities by his adverse fortune, a condition which many times tempted persons of the greatest Temper and Moderation to the most desperate attempts, he could not with any security to himself, afford him the Retreat or Entertainment: *Seleucus* animated with this discourse, advanced with a powerful Army towards *Cilicia*; and *Demetrius*, astonished at this sudden alteration, betook himself for safety to the strengths and most inaccessible places of the Mount *Taurus*; from whence he sent Envoyes to *Seleucus*, to request from him, that he would permit him liberty with his Army to seek to repair his broken fortunes among the barbarous Nations, and there to establish a Kingdom, where he might pass the remainder of his Life in quiet and Repose; and not in that Rigorous season of Winter to expose him in this distressed, naked condition to the fury of his implacable Enemies, but to allow

his

him a competent time and maintenance for the support of his small army, till he might with convenience depart.

But *Seleucus*, whose Jealousie was now the governing Passion of his soul, sent him this peremptory answer, that he would permit him to stay two months and no longer in *Cataonia*, provided he presently sent him the principal of his friends and Officers, as Hostages for his departure then; and in the meantime he shut up all the passages into *Syria*: So that *Demetrius*, who saw himself thus encompassed as in a Toil, like an enraged Lion flew upon the Prey, and fell to wasting the Territories of *Seleucus*, and in many encounters had the advantage of him, and particularly when he was assailed by the Armed Chariots, he entirely defeated them, and thereby opened his passage into *Syria*: And now finding his Souldiers animated by these successes, he was resolved to push at all, and to have one deciding blow for the Empire with *Seleucus*, but that crafty Prince having refused the assistance of *Lisimachus*, whom he both mistrusted and hated, made no great haste to the Encounter, but chose rather to weary *Demetrius* and waste his power by Delays; for there was nothing that he dreaded more than the

the perpetual vicissitude of that Prince's Fortune, which he had so often known to have been raised from the most deplorable state, to the greatest excess of Glory.

But now all things seemed to conspire to the Ruin of this miserable Prince, for he was seized with a Violent distemper, which did not only endanger his Life, but deprived him of his reason, so that his Army began to moulder away insensibly, some deserting, and others stealing away from the service, which they concluded desperate, after forty days he began to be so far recovered, as to be able to rally his forces, and marched as if he directly designed for *Cilicia*, but in the Night, in great silence he took a Countermarch, and passing the Mountain *Manus*, he foraged all the Country as far as *Cyrrhestica*. Whereupon *Seleucus* advanced towards him, and encamping at no great distance, *Demetrius* took resolution to surprize him in his Camp, but the design being by some fugitive discovered to *Seleucus*, he had but just time in great consternation to leap out of his bed, and give the Alarm to his men; as he was putting on his Boots to mount to Horse, *Sirs*, said he,

the Officers about him, *look well to your charges, for we must now expect to Combat with a furious, and enraged Wild Beast.* But *Demetrius* by the noise and Murmur he heard in the Camp finding they had taken the Alarm, drew off his Troops, and began to retreat in the best order that he could, but the Morning quickly appearing, *Seleucus* followed hard upon his Rear; and obliged him to a disadvantageous Encounter. *Demetrius* having drawn his Army into Order; and given the Command of one half of his Troops to one of his most expert Captains, with the other he in Person charged so furiously, that he forced his Enemies to give Ground: But *Seleucus* lighting from his Horse, and covering his Arm with a Target, advanced to the foremost Ranks, and having put up the Visor of his Helmet, that he might be known, he addressed himself to the Souldiers of *Demetrius*, exhorting them to lay down their Arms, and not desperately throw away their lives, telling them with all, that it was for their sakes only that he had so long forbore coming to extremities: And thereupon, without a blow more, these perfidious Mercenaries submitted, and saluted *Seleucus* as their King.

Deme-

Demetrius, who in the whole course of his Life had been accustomed to strange turns, from thence drew a hope that he should weather this storm also; and therefore with the slender attendance of his Friends he fled to the Mountain *Amus*, where, in a thick and spacious wood he secured himself, resolving under the mantle of the Night to make his escape towards *Caunus*; where he hoped to find his shipping ready to transport him: But upon enquiry finding that they had not provisions for more than one day, that design was quasht, and he began to think of some other Project, whilst he was rolling over a thousand irresolute thoughts, his friend *Sofigines* arrived who had four hundred pieces of Gold about him, and with this little relief, he again reassumed his first resolution and hopes to recover the Coast, so soon as it began to be Dark he set forward towards the Mountains, but perceiving by their Fires, that the Enemies had possessed themselves of all the passages, and that it was impossible for him to pass undiscovered he retreated to his old station in the Wood, but not with all his Troop, for divers had deserted him, and the little remainder were extremely dejected and disheartned, so that some of them

them began to talk of rendring themselves and *Demetrius* to *Seleucus*, as the only means left them for their safety: Which *Demetrius* overhearing, he drew out his sword, and had infallibly passed it thorough his own heart, but that some of his friends interposing, prevented the fatal attempt, and began to perswade him, that it was much more manly to trie the Generosity of *Seleucus*, and to reserve his life for a better Destiny and future Hopes; and with these Arguments, but principally by irresistible necessity, he suffered himself to be overcome; and therefore dispatched some of his Attendants to *Seleucus*, to let him know that he was willing to surrender himself and his Friends to his Generosity and Mercy. *Seleucus* transported at this news, cried out. *It is not the good Fortune of Demetrius, which hath found out this expedient for his safety, but my own; which I esteem the greatest favour she ever did me, since thereby she hath given me opportunity to shew my Clemency and Generosity.* And instantly he gave order to his Domestique Officers, to prepare a Royal Pavilion, and all things suitable, for the splendid reception and entertainment of *Demetrius*. There was in the Court of *Seleucus*,

one *Apollonides*, who formerly had been intimately known to *Demetrius*; he was therefore, as the fittest person, dispatched from the King to attend *Demetrius*, and to desire him to dissipate all manner of fear and distrust, and to give him assurance that *Seleucus* was resolved to treat him with all the Honour due to a King, and the kindness of a Relation. No sooner was this message known, but all the principal Courtiers and Officers of *Seleucus*, thinking *Demetrius* would presently become a great favourite with the King, made haste to congratulate with *Demetrius* and kiss his hand: but this ill tim'd application and over officiousness; proved very mischeivous to that poor Prince; for it gave occasion to his Enemies to insinuate to *Seleucus*, that this Usage of *Demetrius* was a most dangerous Civility, and that his presence might have very fatal influences upon the Army, the Officers shewing more inclination to him already than was consistent with their Duty, or the Safety of *Seleucus*; which representations made such impressions upon the spirit of *Seleucus*, & produced different sentiments and resolutions from the former.

For whilst *Apollonides*, and after him
many

many others were relating to *Demetrius* the kind expressions of *Seleucus*, and the Orders he had given; and that poor Prince, who before thought this Rendition of himself, the greatest misfortune of his Life, now began in his thoughts to applaud the Action, and to flatter himself with vain hopes, *Pausanias* with a Guard of a thousand Horse and Foot, amidst all the Caresses of his Friends, came, and by order from the King seized him, and carried him, not as he hoped, as a Prince to the presence of *Seleucus*, but a Prisoner to the Castle of *Chersonesus* in *Syria*, where he was committed to the safe Custody of a strong Guard. It is true he wanted nothing but Liberty, for by the command of *Seleucus*, he had a most liberal allowance for himself and retinue, he had the liberty of a curious Garden and delightful Walks, and was for his Exercise permitted the Freedom of hunting in a large Park excellently stored with Game of all sorts, and had Horses likewise provided for his diversion, and for his Chariots, and to make his life more easy, such of his Servants as were willing to follow his Fortune, had the freedom of attending upon his Person; continual messages of kindness also, from

time to time were brought him from *Seleucus*, requesting him to support the present Restraint of his Liberty cheerfully, assuring him, that so soon as *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* should arrive at the Court, the Conditions and Articles of restoring him to his Liberty should be perfected.

But *Demetrius* had learnt to give little credit to these deluding pretences, and therefore so soon as he was fallen into the misfortune of this Captivity, he sent Express command to his Son *Antigonus*, and to his Captains and Friends at *Athens* and *Corinth*, that they should give no manner of credit to any Letters written to them in his name, though they were sealed with his own Signet, but, that looking upon him as if he were already dead, they should reserve what was left of his Empire for *Antigonus*, and esteem him as their lawful King.

As for *Antigonus*, he received the sad news of his Fathers Captivity, with all the Testimonies of a most afflictive sorrow; he put himself into deep mourning, and writ the most passionate and tender Letters to *Seleucus*, and the rest of the Kings, that his grief could dictate; he offered not only what ever they had left in the World, but him-

self to be a Hostage for the Liberty of the King his Father. Several other Princes, and divers Cities also, became intercessors for his freedom; only *Lysimachus* by his Embassadors, basely offered a large sum of money to *Seleucus*, to take away his life; but by this barbarous proposal he rendred himself most detestable to *Seleucus*, to whom he was sufficiently odious before; nevertheless he still protracted the time of his deliverance, resolving, as he pretended, that he should ow it to the Intercession of *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*.

Demetrius, to whom misfortunes had been customary, grew so familiar with this, that by long continuance, it became habitually easie: At first he accustomed himself to frequent exercises, Hunting, Horse races, and such other divertisements as were permitted him, but by degrees he came to disuse them, and applied himself to Dice and Drinking, and to divert the importunity of his melancholly thoughts, with which he was haunted when sober, he took the Remedy of Intemperance, a Cure worse than the Disease; and whether this was the reason, or that this sort of pleasure was what he most naturally affected, and judged that he

had committed an error in suffering himself to be diverted from it by his mad and vain Ambition, which had created so much trouble to himself and others, he now spent the greatest part of his time in this Way of consuming both that and his health; and he, who had so restlessly toiled to find glory and happiness, by Sea and Land, in mighty Fleets, and formidable Armies, now thought he had found the only Way to tranquillity and repose, and he would often passionately say, *What other Period is there of all those Wars, which miserable Princes are wont to make, and what recompence can they hope for, to allance the pains they are at, and the dangers to which they are continually exposed, besides sitting down quietly at last, and enjoying their pleasures and delights?*

Demetrius having thus continued three years a Prisoner in *Chersonesus*, for want of exercise, and by indulging himself in Intemperance, in the 54th. year of his Age fell sick of a Distemper, which ended not but with his life: And *Solencus* was extremely censured for making such professions of kindness, and restoring his Liberty to this Unfortunate Prince, but not performing them; and herein he did not imitate the bravery of *Dromicketes* of *Thrace*, who not only

treated

treated *Lyfimachus*, when he was his Prisoner, nobly and like a King, but quickly restored him to his former condition of Liberty.

And now we must attend the Unfortunate *Demetrius* with our last service to his Funerals, which suitable to his life, were very pompous and magnificent. For his Son *Antigonus* understanding that his ashes were coming over from *Syria*, he went with a noble Fleet to the Isles of the *Archipelagus* to meet them, and caused them to be deposited in an *Urn* of massy Gold. All the Cities, where they touched in their passage sent Chapplets to adorn the *Urn*, and deputed certain of the best of their Citizens in deep morning to assist at the funeral Solemnity.

When the Fleet of *Antigonus* approached the harbour of *Corinth*, the *Urn* covered with Purple, and a Royal Crown upon it, was placed upon the Poop of the Admiral Gally, a Troop of young Noble Men and Persons of Quality attended in Arms upon the Key to receive it at landing; and *Xenophon* the fam'd Musician began a Mournful Song in praise of the Dead, to which the Rowers in sorrowful Ejaculations made responses, their Oars all the while in their strokes keeping time with the

doleful Cadences of the Musique.

Antigonus, who appeared all covered with tears and mourning, moved the Universall compassion of the numerous Spectators; and the Crowns and others Trophies of Honour being left at *Corinth*, the Urn was conveyed to *Demetriada*, a City to which *Demetrius* had given his name, after it had been built by his direction, and peopled with the Inhabitants of the small Villages of *Jolchos*.

Demetrius left no other Children by his Queen *Philla* but *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*, but he had two other Sons, both of his own name, one whereof was surnamed the *Meagre*, by a *Slavonian* Lady, and the other by *Ptolemaida*, who reigned in *Cyrene*: He had also *Alexander* by Queen *Deidamia* who died in *Egypt*, and there are some who will have it that he had also a Son by *Enridie* whose name was *Coriabus*. To conclude, the Descendants of *Demetrius* in a continued Succession of Kings enjoyed the Crown of *Macedon*, *Persens* being the last who was vanquished and led in triumph by the *Romans*. And now having represented the Tragedy with which *Macedon* hath furnished us, it is time to take a view of that which we Expect from *Rome*.

M. ANTHONY.



A. Bunge, sculp.

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THE
LIFE
OF
MARCUS
ANTONIUS.

From the *Greek*,
By CHARLES FRAZER, M.D.

VOLUME V.

THE Grandfather of *Antony* was the famous Pleader, whom ^{His Paren-} *Marinus* put to death for having taken part with *Sylla*: His Father was *Antony* surnamed the *Cretan*, not the same

same with him that was so celebrated and esteemed for his skill in publick affairs, but a worthy good man, and particularly remarkable for his Liberality, which may appear from this single Action of his. He was not very rich, and withal diverted from the exercise of his good Nature by his wife; a Friend of his that stood in need of money came to borrow of him; money he had none, and therefore Commands his Servant to bring water in a silver Basin with which he lather'd himself, as though he had design'd to shave, and sending away the Servant upon another Errand, gave his Friend the Basin, desiring him to make what use he pleas'd on't, but this making a great stir among the Servants, and putting his wife into very ill humour, to save her the trouble of any further enquiry he acknowledged what he had done, and begg'd her pardon. His wife was *Julia* of the Family of the *Cæsars*, who for her discretion and fair behaviour was not inferiour to the most celebrated Ladies of that time. 'Twas under her that *Antony* received his Education, she being after the death of his Father remarryed to *Cornelius Lentulus*, who was put to death

by *Cicero* for having been of *Catilines* Conspiracy: This probably was the first ground and occasion of that mortal grudge that *Antony* bore *Cicero*, who also did pretend that the body of *Lentulus* was denied Burial, till by great application made to *Cicero's* wife it was granted to *Julia*. But this seems to be a manifest Error, for none of those that suffer'd in the Consulat of *Cicero* had the right of Burial deny'd them; As Soon as *Antony* was grown up, he prov'd a very beautiful youth, but by the worst of misfortunes he fell into the acquaintance and made a strict Friendship with *Curio*, a man abandon'd to his pleasures: who, to make *Antony's* dependance of greater necessity, plung'd him into all the inconveniencies of Whoring and drinking, and made his Expences so Extravagant, that he contracted a debt that was very shameful in one of his age, even two hundred and fifty Talents, *Curio* was his Surety, which coming to the knowledg of *Curio's* Father, he took an occasion to dismiss *Antony* from his house. Soon after this he engaged himself with *Clodius* the most insolent and turbulent disturber of the Government, that that age had produced, but not being able

long

Is debauched by *Curio*.

long to endure his Madneſs, and withal apprehenſive of the powerful Cabal againſt *Clodius*, he left *Italy*, and travell'd into *Greece*, where he ſpent his time in warlike Exerciſes, and in the Study of Eloquence; he affected much the Aſiatick way of ſpeaking, which was moſt in faſhion then, and had moſt reſemblance to his temper, which was very Rhodomantade and brave, very Ambitious, and unequal. After ſome ſtay in *Greece*, he was invited by *Gabinus* the Proconſul to make a Compagne in *Syria*, which at firſt he refus'd, not being willing to ſerve in a private Character, but receiving a Commiſſion to Command the horſe, he went along with him. His firſt ſervice was againſt *Ariſtobulus*, who had prevail'd with the Jews to Rebel, he himſelf was the firſt that ſcal'd the Walls, and on the ſtrongeſt ſide of the Town, beat him from all his Forts, and in a pitch't Battel overcame him, though much inferior in number, put moſt of them to the Sword, and took *Ariſtobulus* and his Son priſoners. This War ended *Gabinus* was ſollicit'd by *Ptolomey*, to reſtore him to his Kingdom of *Ægypt*, and a promiſe made of ten thouſand Talents reward, moſt of the Officers were againſt this enterprize, and *Gabinus* himſelf

himſelf did not much approve it, though ſhrewdly tempted by the ten thouſand Talents, which had a powerful influence over him. But *Antony* deſirous of engaging in brave Actions, and willing to gratifie a Petitioning King, was reſolv'd to uſe all his Interſt to bring about *Gabinus* to undertake this Expedition, all were of opinion that the March to *Peleuſium* was of more dangerous Conſequence then any thing elſe that could probably happen in the way: for they were to paſs over a deep Sand, where no freſh water was to be hop't for, all along the Mariſhes of *Serbonis*, which the *Ægyptians* give out to be the hollow Canal through which *Typhon* takes his breath, and is in truth an Eruption cauſed by the overflowing of the Red-Sea, which is ſeparate from the Mediteranean but by a ſmall Neck of Land. But *Antony* being Order'd thither with a party of Horſe, did not only make himſelf Maſter of the paſſes, but won *Peleuſium* a ſtrong City, took in the Citadel, and by this means rendred the March ſecure to the Army, and the way to Victory not uneaſie to the General. The Enemy was ſenſible of *Antonies* generous diſpoſition, for when *Ptolomey* had entred *Peleuſium* in great rage and malice, againſt the *Ægyptians*, deſigning

designing to put them every one to the Sword: *Antony* positively withstood him, and hindred the Execution. In great and frequent skirmishes and Battails many were the proofs he gave of his personal Valour and Military Conduct, but never did it more plainly appear than in that Action of his, when wheeling about he attack'd the Rear of the Enemy, and gave opportunity to them that charg'd the Front to obtain an intire Victory, for which he received both rewards and honours. Nor was his humanity less taken notice of towards the deceased *Archelaus*, he had been formerly his Guest and Acquaintance, as he was in duty bound he fought him bravely while alive, but finding his dead body, he buried him withal the Ornaments and decency which were due to the quality of a King. Upon these and many other Considerations, the *Alexandrians* spoke of him with infinite respect, and the Roman Soldiers lookt upon him as one of most worthy qualifications; to compleat all, he was a Man of Excellent Shape and Mine, his Beard was of a Comely growth, his Fore-head large, his Nose was of the Roman Shape, and something he had in his Countenance of Greatness that made him seem to resemble

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ble the Statues and Medales we have of *Hercules*, and it was an ancient Tradition that the *Antonies* were descended of *Hercules* by a Son of his called *Anteon*, and this Opinion he endeavoured to confirm by affecting the likeness of him both in his Mine and Dress, for whenever he appear'd in publick he wore his Vest girt low about the hips, a broad Sword on his side, and over all a large course plad, or Mantle. What might seem to some very insupportable, as vain glory, Raillery, drinking in publick, frequenting the Common Soldiers Tables and eating places, made him the delight and pleasure of the whole Army. He was very agreeable in his Loves, and gain'd many Friends by the assistance he gave them in theirs, being very pleasant in his Raillery upon his own intrigues. The generous temper which he was of, in disposing of his gratuities with an open and liberal hand to the Soldiers, and his Friends, gave him a fair opportunity of making his fortune, and was very advantageous to him in establishing him in his new honours and employments, from which it is improbable he ever could have fallen, but by a thousand follies which he was Master of. One instance of his Liberality I must relate, he had Order'd

Order'd to one of his Friends twenty five thousand Crowns, and his Steward wondring at the Extravagance of the sum, laid all the Silver in a heap aske should pass by, *Antony* seeing the heap askt what it meant? His Steward reply'd, the mony you have order'd to be dispos'd of to your Friend; well perceiving the malice of the Action, says he. I thought I had order'd much more, 'tis too little, pray let the sum be doubled: But enough of this. The Citizens of *Rome* were divided into two parties, they that seem'd to favour the Senate follow'd *Pompey*, who was then present, the others that consider'd the interest of the People sheltred themselves under the Authority of *Cæsar*, who was then making War in *Gaul*. *Curio* the Friend of *Antony* having changed his party, had devoted himself to *Cæsar*, and brought over *Antony* to his service, the Authority which he had gain'd by his Eloquence and great expences which were constantly supply'd by *Cæsar*, gave him opportunity of making his Friend *Antony* first Tribune of the people and then Augur, whose coming into the heat of business made him capable of rendering no small services to *Cæsar*. In the first place he oppos'd the Con-

sul *Marcellus*, who had designed some old Legions for *Pompey* with Commission to raise new ones, making an order that they should be sent into *Syria* to reinforce *Bibulus* his Army, who was then making War with the Parthians, and that no one, as they should answer it at their peril, should give in their Names to serve under *Pompey*. Next finding that *Pompey's* Faction would not suffer *Cæsars* Letters to be received or read in the Senate, by vertue of his Office he read them publickly, and succeeded so well, that many were brought to change their mind, and to declare that *Cæsars* demands were but Just and reasonable; at length two questions being started, the one whether *Pompey* should dismiss his Army, the other if *Cæsar* his: some were for the former, for the latter all, except some few; when *Antony* stood up and put the question, if it would be agreeable to them that both *Pompey* and *Cæsar* should dismiss their Armies, which proposal was approv'd of with great acclamations, and *Antony* desir'd, after much honour receiv'd, to put it to the Vote, but this was oppos'd by the Consuls, and *Cæsars* Friends making some new proposals, which did not carry the least appearance of unreasonableness were brow beaten by *Cato*, and *Antony* himself commanded to leave the Senate.

Turn'd out
of the Se-
nate goes
to *Cæsar*.

nate by Consul *Lentulus*, he gave them many a bitter Curse at his going out, and disguising himself in a Servants habit, accompanied only with *Quintus Cassius* in a hired Chariot, he went streight away to *Cæsar*, they no sooner arrived, but great were the Complaints they made that affairs at *Rome* were transacted without any order or Justice, that the priviledge of speaking in the Senate was deny'd the Tribunes, and that he, that asserted the Common right of the people, was in imminent danger of his life, *Cæsar* took hold of this pretence to march his Army into *Italy*; and upon this hint it was that *Cicero* writes in his *Philippicks*, that *Antony* was as much the Cause of the Civil War, as ever *Helena* was of the *Trojan*. But this is but a surmise, for *Cæsar* was not of so weak a temper as to suffer himself to be carry'd away by a passion into a Civil War with his Country, upon the sight of *Antony* and *Cassius* seeking refuge in his Camp, in mean habit and a Hackney Chariot, without ever having thought or taken his measures in an affair of so great Consequence; this was to him, that wanted pretence of declaring War, a fair and equitable occasion, but the true motive was the same that formerly set *Alexander* and *Cyrus* at odds with all Mankind, the unquenchable thirst of Empire, and the dis-

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tracted Ambition of being the greatest man in the world, which was impracticable for him, unless *Pompey* were reduc'd. So soon then as he had surprized *Rome*, and driven *Pompey* out of *Italy*, he purpos'd first to go against the Legions that *Pompey* had in *Spain*, and then to have a fleet in readiness to attend his Motions, leaving the meanwhile the Government of *Rome* to *Lepidus* the Prætor, and the Command of the Army to *Antony* Tribun of the people, who was not long in getting the hearts of his Soldiers, eating and drinking himself with them, and making them presents to the utmost of his abilities. But on the other side he wanted not his Enemies, he was too lazy to inform himself in the Complaints of the injur'd, and was impatient in any thing of business, and his Familiarity with other peoples Wives, gave him an ill reputation. In short the Government of *Cæsar* (which in it self was little better than Tyrannical) was by the indiscretion and insolence of his Friends render'd insupportable: And *Antony*, as he had the greatest power in the Army, so he committed the most notorious insolencies, and had much to answer for. But *Cæsar* at his return from *Spain* wink't at his faults, not thinking fit to disoblige a Soldier that could suffer all fatigue, was very brave of his person, and an ex-

He is left
General in
Italy.

Overcomes
Libo.

perienç'd Commander. *Cæsar* going aboard at *Brundisium*, sail'd over the *Ionian* Sea with a few Troops, and sent back the Fleet with Orders to *Antony* and *Gabinus*, to embark the Army, and land as soon as might be in *Macedonia*. *Gabinus* having no mind to put to Sea, and being apprehensive of the Winter season, was forc'd to March his Army round about by Land; but *Antony*, being more afraid lest *Cæsar* might suffer some great inconvenience from the number of his Enemies, who press'd him hard, beat back *Libo*, who was at Anchor with a Fleet in the mouth of the Haven of *Brundisium*, having Man'd on several small Pinaces and other Boats, with which he encompassed each Gally, and made them retire, gaining thus an occasion of putting aboard twenty thousand Foot and eight hundred Horse, and so set out to Sea. The Enemy having espied him made up to him, but this danger he escap'd by reason that the South wind was so high, that the Enemies Fleet was not able to live in so rough a water, but withal he had like to have fallen upon a Ridge of Rocks, where the Sea wrought so high, that there was no hope of escaping Shipwrack, when all on a suddain the wind turn'd about to Southwest, and blew fire Land to the Main Sea, where *Antony* sail'd

in security, saw the Coast all covered with the wreck of the Enemies Fleet, for the Gallies of *Pompey* had been miserably tost up and down, and many of them sunk, he took many Prisoners and much booty, he took also the Town of *Lyssus*, and by the seasonable arrival of so great recruit gave heart to the affairs of *Cæsar*. There was no engagement in which he did not signalize himself. twice he stop't the Army in its flight, led them back to a charge, and gain'd the Victory, that not without reason his reputation next to *Cæsar's*, was greatest in the Army, and what opinion *Cæsar* himself had of him, did well appear, when *Pharsalia* was to determine who should be Emperor of the World, he himself chose to lead the right Wing, committing the charge of the left to *Antony*, as to the most Experienc'd Officer of all that serv'd under him. After the Battle *Cæsar* being Created Dictator, went in pursuit of *Pompey*, and sent *Antony* to Rome with the Character of Tribun of the people, who is in Office and power next to the Dictator, when present, and in his absence Rules in Chief. For upon the Election of a Dictator all other Magistrates cease to Exercise any Authority in Rome. The young *Dolabella*, who was also Tribun of the people at that time, and a great promo-

ter of new projects, was for enacting a Law to rescind the Register'd Debts, and would needs perswade *Antony* to Joyn with him, who was his Friend, and forward enough to promote any thing that was agreeable to the generality of the people. *Asinius* and *Trebellius* were of the contrary Opinion, and at the same time a grievous fit of Jealousy possessing *Antony* that *Dolabella* was kinder then he desired to his Wife, and taking it to heart, he parted with her (she was his Cozen German and Daughter to *Cains Antonius* the Colleague of *Cicero*), and taking part with *Asinius* declar'd War with *Dolabella*, who had seized on the Market-place in order to give Authority by force to his new Law. *Antony* by a special Command of the Senate, who had Authoriz'd him to oppose *Dolabella's* breaking in to the Market-place, gave him Battle, in the fight many were lost on both sides, and by this action he did incur the displeasure of the Common people, and, by reason of his Course of life, was not only not agreeable but (as *Cicero* says) had in detestation by the better sort of people, abominating his Midnight Revelling, his wild expences, and his rowling from one little Whore to another, his Naps in the day, and his walks to digest his debauches, and then at Night again his Entertainments and Balls.

for the solemnizing the Nuptials of some Comædian or Buffoon. It is reported that drinking all night at the Wedding of *Hippias* the Comædian, and on the morning being to harangue the people, he ventur'd out, overcharg'd as he was, and vomited before them all, one of his Friends receiving it in his Gown. *Sergius* the Comædian was he who had the greatest power with him, and *Cytheris* of the same Vocation the woman that had his heart, she when he went his progress accompanied him in a Litter, and had her Equipage not in any thing inferior to his Mothers; the world was scandaliz'd at the great pomp of his travelling plate, which was more proper for the Ornaments of a Triumph than the Convenience of a Journey, at his causing Tents to be set up every where in the way by Rivers sides and in Groves, for his dining with all the Luxury imaginable, and that he made his Chariot to be drawn by Lyons, and Lodg'd his little Whores and singing VVenches, wherefore he past, in the Houses of serious Men, and VWomen famous for their Matron-like behaviour. And it seem'd very unreasonable that *Cæsar* out of *Italy* should fare hard and with great fatigue and danger pursue the remainder of a dangerous War, whilst others in pretending his Authority

thority left no insolence unpractic'd upon their Fellow Citizens, and this undoubtedly was occasion of great trouble in *Rome*, and gave the Soldier encouragement to injure and plunder the people, upon this it is probable that *Cæsar* at his return acquitted *Dolabella*, and being Created the third time Consul, took not *Antony* but *Lepidus* for Collegue. *Pompeys* House being to be sold, *Antony* would buy it, but was much troubled at the paying for it. This, and that he thought his former services had not been recompenced, as they deserved, made him not follow *Cæsar* with his Army into *Lybia*; and it is apparent, that *Cæsars* not Countenancing his follies was a great means of his amendment, being weary therefore of this Course of life, he Marries *Fulvia* the Widow of *Clodius* the great Ringleader of the people, a Woman not born for Spinning or Houfswifry, nor one that could be content with the power of Ruling a private Husband, but a Lady capable of advising a Magistrate, and of Ruling the General of an Army, so that *Cleopatra* had great Obligations to her for having taught *Antony* to be so good a Servant, he coming into her hands tame and broken in all obedience to the Commands of a Mistress. *Antony* had many devices by which he used to entertain and divert

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her from her more serious way of Carriage. As when *Cæsar* after his Victory in *Spain* was on his return, *Antony* among the rest went out to meet him, and a rumour being spread that *Cæsar* was kill'd, and the Enemy marching into *Italy*, he return'd to *Rome*, and disguising himself came to her by night, as a Servant that brought Letters from *Antony*, but she with great impatience before she receiv'd the Letter asks if *Antony* were well, instead of an answer he gives her the Letter, and as she was opening it, took her about the neck and kist her. This little Story, of many of the same nature, we thought fit to give you, by which you might guesse of his humour. There was no body of Quality in *Rome*, that did not go some days journey to meet *Cæsar* in his return from *Spain*, but *Antony* was the best receiv'd of any, admitted to ride the whole Journey with him in his Coach, behind came *Brutus*, *Albinus*, and *Octavian* his Sisters Son, well known afterward by the name of *Augustus Cæsar*. *Cæsar* being created the fifth time Consul, without any demur chose *Antony* for his Collegue, but designing himself to quit the Consulat to *Dolabella*, he acquainted the Senate with his resolution, but *Antony* opposed it with all his might, and saying all the bitter things

things of *Dolabella*, and receiving as injurious language in return, *Cæsar* could bear with the indecency no longer, but referr'd the Consideration of this matter to another time; and the next time it was propos'd, *Antony* proclaim'd that all Omens, that were taken from the Flight of Birds, were against his promotion, so that *Cæsar* was constrain'd to leave *Dolabella* very much discompos'd; and 'tis credible, that *Cæsar* had no great opinion of either of them, for when one accus'd them to have design'd against him, 'tis not the men so well fed, and so well dress'd I fear, but the pale and lean (said he) I dread, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who afterwards conspir'd his death and murder'd him. To whom *Antony* without designing any harm gave the most plausible pretence that could be wish'd for. The *Romans* were celebrating their Festival called the *Lupercalia*, when *Cæsar* in his Triumphal habit, and seated on a kind of Throne in the market place was a Spectator of the Sports, the Customers that many young Noblemen, and of the Magistracy, anointed with Oyl, and having strapps of white Leather in their hand, run about and strike every one they meet. *Antony* was sporting with the rest who as soon as the ancient Ceremonies

were perform'd took a Lawrel Garland, and having wreath'd the Diadem about it, made towards the Throne, and being lifted up by his Companions, would have put it upon the head of *Cæsar*, as if by that Ceremony he were declared King, but *Cæsar* seemingly refused the offer and was applauded by the People with great shouts, the dispute, betwixt *Antony's* offering and *Cæsar's* refusing the Crown, lasted some while. *Antony* receiving but little encouragement from the shouts of a few Friends, and *Cæsar's* refusal being accompany'd with the general applause of the People, and this is very remarkable that a People should endure patiently all that a Kingly Government could impose, and at the same time dread the name of King, as the utter destruction of their Liberty. *Cæsar* very much discompos'd at what had past, stept down in haste from the Throne, and laying bare his Neck, said; he offer'd himself a willing Sacrifice to the People, if so it were their pleasure. The Crown at last was put upon one of his Statues, but the Tribunes took it off to the great satisfaction of the People, who followed them home with continual shouts and applauses: *Cæsar* repented this, and afterwards turn'd them out of their Office. These passages gave great encouragement to

to *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who in making choice of trusty Friends for such an Enterprize were thinking to engage *Antony*, every one approv'd the man but *Trebonius*, who did inform them that *Antony* and he had been very intimate in the late Journey they took to meet *Cæsar*, and that he had let fall several words concerning the matter now in hand, on purpose to sound him, that *Antony* very well understood him, but did not at all approve of the discourse, howsoever the matter was never reveal'd to *Cæsar*, but still kept as a great secret. The Conspirators then propos'd that *Antony* should dye with him, which *Brutus* would in no wise consent to, not thinking fit that an Action undertaken in defence of Justice and the Laws, should be lyable to so foul an imputation. *Antony* therefore who was to be consider'd as a man of bodily strength and one that bore great Office in the State, was at *Cæsar's* Entry to the Senate to be amus'd without, in a discourse of pretended business. Just as it was order'd *Cæsar* was slain, and *Antony* surpriz'd at the action, took the disguise of a Servant's habit and retir'd, but understanding that the Conspirators had assembl'd in the Capitol and had no further design upon any one, he gave them his honour they might

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come down in safety, and sent his Son for an Hostage. That night *Cassius* sup'd at *Antony's* house, and *Brutus* with *Lepidus*, where they resolv'd the Senate should be call'd, and having pass'd an Act of Oblivion for the settlement of affairs, Governments were assign'd to *Cassius* and *Brutus*, and whatsoever Acts had pass'd during the Reign of *Cæsar* were ratify'd with the consent of the whole Senate. Thus *Antony* went out of the Senate with that reputation and esteem that never man had gain'd before him, for it was apparent to the World that he had taken away all the grounds of a Civil War, and had shewn himself an able Minister of State, that knew how to unravel and compose matters of so great danger and difficulty. But these temperate Counsels were soon infected with the pride of being Favourite of the Multitude, and the Ambition of ruling in chief by the supplanting of *Brutus*. In Order to this *Cæsar's* body being expos'd in the Market place as the Custom is, while *Antony* made his Funeral Oration, perceiving the People to be infinitely affected with what he had said from his praises, he rais'd their pity, and enlarg'd upon every point, that could move compassion; to compleat all, he took the Robe from off the dead Corps, and held

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it up, exposing it all bloody, and pierced throw with many stabs, calling the Conspirators, Villains, and bloody murderers, his harangue had so great an effect upon the Multitude, that they would not defer the Solemnities of the Funeral, but making a pile of Tables and Forms in the very Market place, set fire to it, and every one taking a brand ran in great fury to the Conspirators houses with a resolution to burn them alive. Upon this tumult *Brutus* and his whole party left the City, and *Cesar's* Friends joynd themselves to *Antony*. *Calpurnia Cesar's* wife trusted herself to his Conduct, and the best part of her Estate, four thousand Talents, he got also into his hands all *Cesar's* papers, wherein were contained Journals of all he had done, and draughts of what he design'd to do, which *Antony* made good use of, for by this means he made what Officers he pleas'd, brought whom he would into the Senate, recalled some from Exile, freed others out of Prison, and all this as order'd so by *Cesar*. The Romans by way of Raillery call'd all that receiv'd any benefit by this artifice *Charonites*, who if put to prove their Patents must have recourse to the Registers of the dead. In short *Antony's* behaviour in *Rome* was very absolute, he

himself

himself being Consul, and his two Brothers in great place, *Caius* the one, Prætor, and *Lucius* the youngest Tribune of the People.

While matters went thus in *Rome*, the young *Cesar*, *Julius Cesar's* Sisters Son, and by Testament left his heir, arriv'd at *Rome* from *Apollonia* where he was when his Uncle Was kill'd. The first thing he did was to visit *Antony*, as one his Uncle had greatest obligation to, he spoke to him concerning the mony that was in his hands, and reminded him of the Legacy *Cesar* had made of seventy five Drachms to every Roman Citizen. *Antony* at first laughing at such discourse from so young a man, told him he wisht he were in his health, and that he wanted good Counsel, and good Friends, to tell him the burden of being Executor to *Cesar* would sit very uneasie upon his young shoulders. This was no answer to him, but still he insists to have the mony and others goods which were his Inheritance, insomuch that *Antony* us'd him injuriously, thwarted his Interest upon all Occasions, oppos'd him in his Election of Tribune, and when he urged the dedication of his Fathers Golden Chair (as had been Enacted) he threatned to send him to Prison if he desisted not from soliciting the People.

ple. This made the young *Cæsar* apply himself to *Cicero*, and all those that hated *Antony*, by them he was recommended to the Senate, while he himself courted the People, and from their respective quarters took the old Soldiers, and form'd them into a body : this made *Antony* so apprehensive, that he gave him a meeting in the Capitol, and after some words they came to an accommodation.

That night *Antony* had a very unlucky Dream, fancying that his right hand was Thunder struck, and some few days after he was inform'd that *Cæsar* design'd upon his life. *Cæsar* would have justify'd himself, but was not believ'd, so that the breach was now made as wide as ever, each of them posted day and night all about *Italy* to engage the old Troops that lay scatter'd in their Quarters, and great were the promises that were made to the Legions that were yet standing. *Cicero* was of great reputation in *Rome* and made use of all his Art to exasperate the People against *Antony*, and at length perswaded the Senate to declare him a publick Enemy, and to send to *Cæsar* the rods and Axes, and all other Marks of Honour, that are usually given to the Pretor, and withal an Order was given to *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who were then

Consuls

Consuls to drive *Antony* out of *Italy*. The Armies engag'd nigh to *Modena*, and *Cæsar* himself was present. *Antony* was defeated, though both the Consuls were slain. *Antony* in his Flight was pursued by all the misfortune imaginable, and the worst shape it appear'd in was famine, but it was in these extremities that he naturally fell into a behaviour, that made him appear a man much above himself; and *Antony* in misfortune was not easily distinguish'd from a vertuous man. It is no extraordinary matter for men that fall into great difficulties, to reason right, and understand what by their duty and honour they are bound to do and suffer : Yet there are but a very few, who in great extremities have courage enough to trust to their own Judgment, either to imitate what they admire, or avoid what they Condemn, but abandon themselves to their beloved Ease, and for very want of industry become irresolute. *Antony* was a most illustrious Example of patience to the Army, who accustomed to so much Luxury and delicacy, could be contented to drink stinking water, and feed upon wild Fruits, and Roots, nay 'tis reported they devoured the very Barks of Trees, and in passing over the *Alpes* they lived upon the Flesh of Beasts, that man had

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never before tasted of his design was to join *Lepidus*, who commanded the Army on the other side the *Alpes*, who he imagined would stand his sure Friend he having done many kind Offices to *Julius Caesar*; he encamped near *Lepidus*'s Army, but receiving from him no sort of encouragement, was resolv'd to push his Fortune and venture all. His hair was very long and disorder'd, nor had he shaved his beard since his last defeat. In this guise, and a mourning Mantle flung over, he came into the Trenches of *Lepidus*, and began to Harangue the Army. Some were moved at his habit, others at his words, that *Lepidus* liking it not, ordered the Trumpets to sound, that his might be heard no longer. This rais'd in the Soldiers a greater sense of pity, so that they resolv'd to send and confer with him, and dress'd *Laelius* and *Clodius* in Womens Cloaths, and sent them to *Antony*, they advis'd him presently to attack *Lepidus* his Trenches, assuring him that a strong party should receive him, and so he thought fit kill *Lepidus*. But *Antony* would not suffer that any injury should be done him, and next morning he march'd his Army to pass over the little River that parted the two Camps, he was the first that gain'd the other side of the River, where he espied *Lepidus* his Soldiers in great numbers reaching out their hands to help him; and beating down the works to make him way: Being entred the Camp, and finding himself absolute Master, he treated *Lepidus* with great civility and gave him the title of Father, when he spoke to him, and though he had every thing at his own Command, he left him the honour of being called the General. This fair usage brought over to him *Manatius Plancus*, who was not far off with a considerable Force. Thus being very strong he repass'd the *Alpes*, and led with him into Italy seventeen Legions, and ten thousand Horse, besides six Legions he left in Garrison under the Command of *Varinus* one of his familiar friends, that used to debauch with him, and was therefore surnamed *Cotylon* (which signifies a bottle,) *Caesar* perceiving that *Cicero*'s intention was to reestablish the State in its former liberty, did soon quit that party, and by the Mediation of his Friends came once more to a good understanding with *Antony*. They both met together with *Lepidus* in a small Island, where the Conference lasted three days. The Empire of the World was soon determin'd of, it being divided amongst them, as if it had been their paternal Inheritance: That which gave them all the trouble

was to agree who should be put to death, every one intending to destroy his Enemies and to save his Friends. The thirst of being revenged of their Enemies did in the end take off all manner of desire to preserve their Friends, and *Cæsar* sacrific'd *Cicero* to *Antony*, *Antony* his Uncle *Lucius* to *Cæsar*, and both of them did easily grant to *Lepidus* the Liberty to murder his own Brother *Paulus*, though there are those that say it was required of him. I do not believe anything was ever heard of so barbarous as this Composition, for in this exchange of blood for blood, they did not only murder those that were offer'd up unto their Fury, but them also that they abandon'd to the rage of others. This Agreement being made the Army desir'd it might be confirm'd by some Alliance of Marriage, so that *Cæsar* married *Claudia* the Daughter of *Fulvia* wife to *Antony*. This affair being dispatcht, three hundred more were adjudg'd to dye (by proscription) *Antony* had given order to those that were to kill *Cicero*, to cut off his head and right hand with which he had writ his invectives against him, when they were brought before him, he beheld them with an inward satisfaction, not being able to contain himself from often smiling at so horrid a spectacle, when he had satiated himself

himself

himself with the sight of them, he ordered them to be hung up in the Court where the usual pleadings were, not considering that the affront he design'd to the memory of the dead redounded to his own disgrace, who by this barbarous Action rendred himself unworthy of that power he exercis'd. His Uncle *Lucius* being closely pursued had taken refuge in his Sisters Chamber, who when the murderers had broke into her house, and were pressing into her Chamber, she met them at the door, and holding them by the hands cry'd out several times, Ye shall never kill *Lucius Cæsar* till you first dispatch me, me that gave your General his life and being, and she order'd the matter so well that she sav'd her Brother.

This *Triumvirate* was very hateful to the *Romans*, and *Antony* was most of all to blame, for he was Elder than *Cæsar*, and had greater Authority than *Lepidus*, and withal was no sooner settled in his affairs, but he return'd to his debauch and dissolute way of living: Beside the ill reputation he had gained by his intemperance, it was very disadvantageous to him his living in the house of *Pompey* the Great, a Man as much celebrated for his temperance and honesty, as ever he was admir'd for having Triumphed three times.

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They could not without regret see the doors of that house shut against the Magistrates and Foreign Ministers, who were shamefully refus'd admittance, while it was open to Players, Juglers, and devouring Flatterers, upon whom he spent the greatest part of his ill acquired Riches, for they did not only take the Forfeiture of the Estates of such as were proscribed, defrauding the poor Widows and Orphans, and lay impositions upon all manner of Goods, but hearing that several summes of money were, by assisting Strangers as Citizens of Rome, deposited in the hands of the Vestal Virgins, they went and took the money away by force. *Cæsar* perceiving how extravagant *Antony* was in his Expences, demanded a division to be made of the Revenues: The Army was also divided upon their march into *Macedonia* to make War with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they leaving the Command of the City to *Lepidus*, having pass'd the Sea they encamped nigh the Enemy; *Antony* nigh *Cassius*, and *Cæsar* nigh *Brutus*: *Cæsar* did nothing worth relating, but success and Victory did still wait on *Antony*. In the first Battle *Cæsar* was routed by *Brutus*, all his Baggage taken, and he himself very narrowly escaping by Flight, but as he himself writes in his Memoires, he retir'd before

before the Charge by reason of a dream of one of his Friends. *Antony* overcame *Cassius*, but as some write he himself was not present at the Engagement, but that he joyn'd them afterwards in the pursuit. *Cassius* with earnest entreaty had perswaded his faithful Friend *Pindarus*, not knowing any thing of *Brutus* his good Fortune, to kill him. Shortly after they fought another Battle, in which *Brutus* lost the day and slew himself. *Cæsar* being sick, *Antony* had the honour of the Action, who finding *Brutus* his body among the slain, he gently reproacht him with the death of his Brother *Cains*, who was put to death by *Brutus* his order in *Macedonia* in revenge of *Cicero*, but he said *Hortensius* was most to blame, who was therefore order'd to be slain upon his Brothers Tomb. He cast his rich purple Mantle upon the dead body of *Brutus*, and gave in charge to one of his Servants to take care of his Funeral, who not burning the Mantle with the Corps, as *Antony* came to understand, and detayning part of the money which was to be expended in the Funeral, was order'd to be slain. *Cæsar* was carryed to Rome, no one expecting that he should recover from his sickness. Whilst *Antony* visited the Eastern Provinces to lay them under Contribution, he entred

Greece at the head of a formidable Army. And the Impositions of necessity were to be very great since they had engaged that every common Soldier should receive for his pay five hundred Crowns.

Antony's behaviour towards the *Grecians* was very obliging, he was pleas'd to entertain himself in hearing the learned men dispute, in seeing their sports, frequenting their Religious Ceremonies, and shew'd a great deal of equity in deciding of Controverses: He was fond of being stil'd the Lover of *Greece*, but above all in being call'd the Lover of *Athens*, to which City he had made very considerable presents.

The *Megareans* in imitation of the *Athenians* must needs invite *Antony* to come and see their Senate house, which whilst he survey'd, they askt him how he lik'd it? he told them 'twas very narrow and ruinous, he caus'd an exact survey to be made of the Temple of *Apollo Pythius* as if he had design'd to repair it, and indeed he had engaged himself to the Senate so to do, but passing into *Asia*, he forgot all these glorious Projects, and leaving *Lucius Censorinus* in *Greece*, his whole application was to enrich himself with the Spoils of *Asia*. There Kings every morning waited his Leisure at his Chamber

Chamber door, and Queens were rivalling one another, who should make him the greatest presents or appear most charming in his Eyes. Thus whilst *Cæsar* was engaged in War, and struggling with Seditions in *Rome*, *Antony* at his Ease, fell naturally into his old course of life the *Anaxenores* a set of Harpers, the *Xuthi*, a company of Players upon the Flute, and *Metrodorus* a dancing Master, with some other bands of *Asian* Musick, did so much surpass his *Italian* Masters, that they had got great credit at Court, nothing ran in the usual Channels, all business passing through their hands, so that all *Asia* was like the City that *Sophocles* speaks of, Where

*Joyful sounds i'th' perfum'd air
Mix with Groans and cold despair.*

When he made his Entry into *Ephesus*, the Women met him in the same habit they solemnize the Feasts of *Bacchus*, the men and boys were dress'd like Satyrs and Faunes, and quite through out the Town nothing was to be seen but spears wreath'd about with Ivy, Harps, Flutes and Haut-bois, they saluted *Antony* in their songs by the name of *Bacchus* the gracious and the gentle, and so indeed he was to some, but

but for the most part he was Barbarous and inhuman, for he would deprive persons of worth and quality of their Fortunes to gratifie Villains and Flatterers who would sometimes beg the Estates of men yet living pretending they were dead, and obtaining a Grant, take possession: He gave his Cook the house of a *Magnetian* Citizen for dressing his supper well. But when he burthened *Asia* with doubling the Imposts, *Hybreas* the *Aegean* for those Cities made his remonstrance in very pleasant language, and not ungrateful to *Antony*, shewing him that since he thought fit to double their Taxes he would take some care that they might have their Summer and Autumn doubled too, that they might be in a condition to satisfy his demands: Then he added with some sharpness and assurance; In *Asia* has been raised for your service two hundred thousand Talents, which if you have not received, take an account of them that Levy it, but if it be receiv'd and yet you are want, we are forever ruin'd. These plain words did touch *Antony* to the quick who, very ignorant of many things that were done in his name, not that in his nature he was easily to be impos'd upon but by reason he had too great confidence in the integrity of those he employ'd. He

was naturally very sincere, but somewhat slow of apprehension, but so soon as he was made sensible of his faults, he was much troubled, and very ready to ask pardon of them he had offended, he was very prodigal in his rewards, and very severe in his punishments, but his Generosity was much more extravagant than his Severity; his Raillery was very sharp, but the edge of it was taken off, and rendered inoffensive by his suffering any thing of Repartee; for he was as well contented to be handsomely rallied, as he was pleas'd to rally others; this freedom had its inconvenience, for he imagined that those Friends, who used so much freedom in their mirth, would never flatter or deceive him in any business of consequence, not perceiving that these subtil Parasites dress their fulsome flattery with a little pointed sauce to make it go down the better, which must have given him a surfeit had it not been disguised, and great use was made of the Liberty in business of importance, for upon examining any difficulty they order'd their affair so that they might seem not to yeild to him out of complaisance, but that he had a reach much Superior to their capacity.

Antony being of this disposition, the greatest mischief that could befall him was the Love of *Cleopatra*, which awaken'd and

He falls in Love with Cleopatra.

and inflam'd many a hidden dormant Vice, and if there were any spark of Virtue yet remaining, it stifled it intirely. And thus it was his Love began; making preparation for the *Parthian War*, he sent to Command her to make her personal appearance in *Cilicia* to answer an accusation that she had given great assistance in the late Wars to *Cassius*. *Dellius* who was sent on this Message had no sooner seen her admirable beauty, and with what a quickness and grace she received him, but he began to consider how impossible it was that so beautiful a Creature should receive any ill treatment at the hands of *Antony*, and therefore he behav'd himself with all respect to her, courted her with all humility to pass into *Cilicia* in splendid Equipage, and intreated her not to be apprehensive of *Antony*, a brave and Courteous Soldier. She had great Faith in the words of *Dellius*, but more in her own Beauty, which having formerly recommended her to *Julius Caesar* and the young *Pompey*, she did not doubt but it might prove successful with *Antony*: Their Acquaintance was with her when a Girl, young and ignorant in the Arts of Love, but she was now to meet *Antony* in the flower of her age with all the Charms of Beauty, and all the artifice of riper years,

she makes great preparation for her Journey, of many Gifts and other Ornaments of great value, which so wealthy a Kingdom did easily afford, but in her own irresistible Charms lay her great assurance, many were the Letters she received from *Antony* to hasten her coming, but she did not seem to make any great account of his Orders. At length she embarks upon a small Galley in the River *Cydnus*, the head of the Barge did shine with inlay'd Gold, the Sails were of Purple Silk, the Oars of Silver, which beat time to the Flutes and Hautbois, she herself lay all along under a Canopy of Cloth of Gold curiously imbroider'd, dress'd as *Venus* is ordinarily represented, and beautiful young Boys like *Cupids* stood on each side to fan her, her Maids were dress'd like Sea Nymphes and Graces, some steering the Rudder, some working at the Ropes, the perfumes diffus'd themselves from the Vessel to the Shore, which was all cover'd with multitudes meeting and following the Gally, all the People running out of the City to see this strange sight, left *Antony* alone upon the Tribunal, and a rumour was spread abroad that *Venus* was come to Feast with *Bacchus* for the Common good of *Asia*: As soon as she was arriv'd *Antony* sent to invite her to supper, but

but she thought it more decent that *Antony* should come to her, who to show his Civility to a Stranger made no difficulty to wait on her, he found the preparations very magnificent, but nothing was so admirable as the great number of Lights, for on a suddain there was let down altogether so great a number of branches with Lights in them so ingeniously disposed, some in squares, and some in circles, that Fame cannot speak of a greater peice of curiosity. The next day *Antony* invited her to supper, and was very desirous to out doe her aswel in Magnificence as contrivance, but he came short of both, and was so much convince'd of it that he began to despise and laugh at his own way of service. She perceiving that *Antony's* raillery was very gross, and favour'd more of the Soldier than the Courtier, she gave herself the liberty to use him in the same manner without any sort of reserve. *Cleopatra* was not, as is reported, of so surprizing a Beauty that no one could be compared with her, or that no one could behold her without astonishment, but her Conversation had those Charms that were not to be resisted, and that natural grace and sweetness which appear'd in every thing she said or did, stung her beholders to the Soul. Her

tongue

tongue was hung so harmoniously, that no Instrument was capable of more variety of sounds. She spoke most Languages, there were but few of the barbarous Nations that she answer'd by an Interpreter, to most of them she gave Audience herself, as to the *Æthiopians, Troglodites, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians*, and many others, which is the more admirable in consideration that the most of the Kings her Predecessors could scarce attain to the *Ægyptian* tongue, and that several of them had quite forgot the *Macedonian*, which was their original Language.

Antony was so strangely taken with this Woman, that notwithstanding *Fulvia* his wife maintain'd his quarrels in *Rome* against *Cæsar* with great difficulty, and that the *Parthian* Troops commanded by *Labienus* (that King having made him General) were assembled in *Mesopotamia*, and ready to enter *Syria*, could yet suffer himself to be carryed away by her into *Alexandria*, there to lead an easie Childish life in divertisements too youthful for his age, squandering away as *Antipho* calls it his most precious and not to be retrieved time. They gave their way of living a particular name, calling it, the inimitable life. They treated one another by turns, and

and their Expences were without reason or measure. I remember I have heard my Grandfather *Lamprias* relate that *Philotas* a Physician of *Amphyssa*, who was at that time a Student in *Alexandria*, had told him, that he having an acquaintance with one of *Antony's* Cooks was invited by him to see what sumptuous preparations they were making for supper, coming into the Kitchen, he admir'd the prodigious variety of all things, but particularly seeing eight wild Boars roasted whole, says he, surely you have a great number of Guests, the Cook laugh't at his simplicity, and told him there was not above twelve to sup, but that every Dish was to be served up just roasted to a turn, and if any thing was but one minute ill timed twas spoilt, for, said he, may be *Antony* will sup just now, may be not this hour, may be not these two hours, for that he has a mind to spend some time in drinking or discoursing, so that it is not one but many suppers must be had in readiness, for it was not easie to guess at his hour. This was *Philotas* his Story, who related besides how coming afterwards into the service of *Antony's* eldest son by *Fulvia*, and being admitted with others of the better rank of Servants to sit at Table with him, when he did not eat with his Father,

it happen'd that another Physician, full of argument and noise had given great disturbance to the Company, whose mouth *Philotas* stopt with this Sophistical Syllogism: It is proper to give cold water to one that has a Fever in some degree; every one that has a fever hath it in some degree; it is good therefore to give cold water in a Fever. The man was quite struck dumb, and *Antony's* Son very much pleas'd, say'd, *Philotas* all that is yours, pointing to a sideboard cover'd with rich plate. *Philotas* thank't him for his good will, but could not conceive that the young man had power to dispose of things of that value, but soon after the plate was all brought to him, and he desired to set his mark upon it, who fearing to accept the present, what ails the man (said he that brought it) do you know that he that gives you this is *Antony's* Son, who could very well spare it if it were all gold, but if you will be advis'd by me, I would counsell you to accept of the value in money, for there may be amongst the rest some peice of antiquity, or the Work of some famous Master that *Antony* may have a particular esteem for. These relations I had from my Grandfather concerning *Philotas*.

To return to *Cleopatra*: *Plato* admits but of four sorts of Flattery, but this

Cleopatra's
humoring
him.

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Woman

Woman would have learn'd him a thousand different kinds, that he ne're dreamt of: Were *Antony* serious or dispos'd to mirth, she had every minute new grace and new arts to season all, with pleasure and delight, she had the absolute power over his Spirit, and never left him day nor night, she play'd at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him, and when exercising in Arms she was always by him, she would go a rambling with him a nights, to disturb and torment people under their windows, drest like an ordinary Woman, for *Antony* went in Servants disguise, and from those expeditions he often came home very scurvily treated and sometimes beaten severely. Though this sort of behaviour was very unpleasing to some, yet the *Alexandrians* were well satisfy'd in his frolicks and jovial humours, saying pleasantly, that they had great obligations for *Antony*, who diverted them with a Comical Countenance, and reserved the Tragical for the *Romans*. It would be very tedious to be more particular in his follies, but his fishing must not be forgot. He went out one day to angle with *Cleopatra*, and being so unfortunate as to catch nothing in the presence of his Mistress, he fell into a great passion, and gave secret orders to the Fishermen to

dive under water, and put Fishes that had been fresh taken upon his hooks, he drew so fast that the subtil *Aegyptian* perceiv'd it, but feigning great admiration, she told every body how dexterous *Antony* was, and invited them next day to come and see him again; so soon as he had let down his hook, one of her Servants was too nimble for his Divers, and fixed upon his hook a salted Fish taken in the *Pontick* Sea, who when he felt his Line give, drew up the prey, which, as one may easily imagine, gave great occasion of Laughter, which she turning very agreeably, said allow us, brave Sir, poor inhabitants of *Charos* and *Canopus* the reputation to be skilful in this Art, your Game is Cities, Provinces, and Kings.

Whilst *Antony* was thus amused in his Childish recreations two Messengers arrive, the one from *Rome*, who informs him that his Brother *Lucius* and his wife *Fulvia*, after many quarrels among themselves had joyn'd to resist *Cæsar*, but having lost all were forc'd to fly out of *Italy*: The other brought little better news, how that *Labiennus* at the head of the *Carthians* had overran *Asia* from *Euphrates* and *Syria* all along to *Lydia* and *Ionia*, scarce could he be rowed from this sleep, but at length as it were recovering from a drunken

Leaves Alexandria.

ken Fit, he sets onward for *Parthia*, and having got as far as *Phœnicia*, upon the receipt of most lamentable Letters from *Fulvia*, he turn'd his Course with two hundred ships to *Italy*, and in his way, receiving such of his Friends as fled from *Italy*, he was given to understand that *Fulvia* was the sole cause of the War, a Woman of a restless Spirit, and very bold, and withal, her hopes were that the commotions in *Italy* would force *Antony* from *Cleopatra*. But it happen'd that *Fulvia* as she was coming to meet her husband, fell sick by the way, and dy'd at *Sicyon*, by which reason an accommodation with *Cæsar* was easily made, for those that were Friends to them both, seeing *Antony* arriv'd in *Italy*, and nothing laid to his charge, but what he disown'd, and shifted off upon *Fulvia*, they would not suffer that the time should be spent in Justifying and accusing, they made them both Friends, and so proceeded to the division of the Empire, the Eastern Provinces were given to *Antony*, to *Cæsar* the Western, and *Affrick* left to *Lepidus*; and an agreement was made that every one in their turn, as they thought fit, should make their Friends Consuls, when they took it not themselves, this Agreement was well approv'd of, but yet 'twas thought a Stronger

Is reconcil'd
to Cæsar.

ger tye would be very necessary, and here Fortune was propitious, for *Cæsar* had an elder Sister not of the whole blood, for *Accia* was his Mothers name, hers *Ancharia*; this Sister he lov'd intirely, and a Lady she was of a Noble Character, the Relict of *Cains Marcellus*, and *Antony* was now a Widower by the death of *Fulvia*; for though he did not disavow the passion he had for *Cleopatra*, yet he disown'd any thing of Marriage, Love and Reason still debating in his Breast what was to become of the fair *Ægyptian* Queen. Every body was for promoting this Marriage, it being the general expectation, that a Lady of so much honour, beauty and prudence, being perpetually with *Antony*, and having great credit with him, as might reasonably be expected, affairs would easily be so order'd, that no difference should arise betwixt him and *Cæsar*: Both parties being agreed, they went to *Rome* to celebrate the Nuptials, the Senate dispensing with the Law by which a Widow was not permitted to marry till ten Months after the death of her husband.

Maries
Octavia.

Sextus Pompeius was in possession *Sicily*, who with his Ships under the command of *Menas* and *Meneceutes* two famous Pirates infested the *Italian* Coast, that no

Vessels durst venture into those Seas. *Sextus* had behaved himself with much humanity towards *Antony*, having kindly receiv'd his Wife and Mother in their Flight, and it was Judg'd fit that he should be receiv'd into the peace, they met nigh to the Promontory of *Misenum* upon a point of Land that runs into the Sea, *Pompey's* Fleet being at anchor in the Road, and *Antony* and *Cæsars* Army drawn up all along the Side over against them. There it was concluded that *Sextus* should quietly enjoy the Government *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, he Conditioning to scowr the Seas of all Pirates, and to send so much Corn every year to *Rome*.

This agreed on, they invited on another to supper, and by lot it fell to *Pompey's* turn to make the first entertainment and *Antony* asking where it was to be, there said he pointing to the Admiral, for that is the only house that *Pompey* is heir to of his Fathers: And this he said reflecting upon *Antony* who then was in possession of his Fathers house. Having cast Anchor and made a bridge from the promontory into the Gally he received them very gallantly, when they began to grow warm, which occasion'd many pleasant passages upon the subject of *Antony's* and *Cleopatra's* loves, *Menas*
the

the Pirate whispers *Pompey* in the ear, Sir, said he, will you be pleas'd that I cut the cable which will not only make you master of *Sicily* and *Sardinia* but of the whole *Roman* Empire. *Compey* having for a while considered what was propos'd, return'd him this answer, *Menas* this might have been done without acquainting me in't, now let us make the best of our present condition, for I cannot break my word. And so having been treated by the other two in their turn's he set sayl for *Sicily*.

As soon as matters were concerted *Antony* dispatch't *Ventidius* into *Asia* to put a stop to the inroads of the *Carthians*, and he to make a complement to *Octavius* accepted of the Office of being Preist to the deceased *Cæsar*, and in all occasions of common civility, as also in matters of the highest concernment, they both behaved themselves with a great deal of easiness and freindship: But *Antony* could not suffer with patience, that *Cæsar*, in all little plays which they frequently diverted themselves with, should be constantly victorious: He had usually with him an *Ægyptian*, skillfull in the calculation of Nativity's, who either to make his Court to *Cleopatra*, or that by the rules of his Art he found it so to be, did declare to him, that though

the Fortune that did attend him was bright and glorious, yet it was overshadowed by *Cæsars*; and advised him to keep himself far distant from that young Man, for your Genius, said he, dreads his. When absent from him yours is proud and brave, but in his presence unmanly and dejected; and the event did shew that the *Ægyptian* spoke truth, for when soever they play'd by drawing lotts or at dice *Antony* was still the loser; and as they often fought game Cocks or Quails *Cæsars* always had the Victory. This gave *Antony* a sensible displeasure, and made him put great confidence in the skil of his *Ægyptian* Astrologer, so that having quitted the management of the home affairs to *Cæsar*, he left *Italy* and took *Octavia* along with him into *Greece*, who had been lately brought to bed of a Daughter.

Whilst he winter'd in *Athens* he receiv'd the joyful news of *Ventidius* his Victory over the *Carthians* of *Labienus* and *Charnapates*, the General of King *Herods* Army, being both slain; for the celebrating of which he order'd a publick feast through *Greece*, and at the prizes which were fought at *Athens* he himself chose to be Moderator, and leaving at home the Ensignes that are carried before the General

he

he made his procession in a long gown and slippers with the wands marching before, which are usual in those solemnities, and he performed his duty in parting the combatants, when they had fought enough. When he was upon marching his Army he made him a garland of the Olive Tree consecrated to *Minerva*, and in obedience to some Oracle he fill'd a Vessel with the water of the * *Clepsidra* to carry along with him. *Pacorus* the *Parthian* Kings Son at this time made an inroad into *Syria*, and was met by *Ventidius*, who gave him battle in the Country of *Cyrestica*, slew most of his men and *Pacorus* among the rest. This Victory gave great reputation to the *Romans* and redeem'd their honour, which had suffer'd much ever since the defeat of *Crassus*, the *Parthians* being oblig'd after the loss of three battles successively to keep themselves within the bounds of *Media* and *Mesopotamia*: *Ventidius* not being willing to push his good Fortune any further, for fear of raising some jealousy in *Antony*, but turning his Arms against them that had quitted the *Roman* interest, he reduc'd them to their former obedience: Among the rest he besieged *Antiochus* King of *Commagena*, who made an offer of a thousand talents for his pardon, and a promise to continue in a strict compliance to

* The *Clepsidra* was an hour glass with water instead of sand: That here mention'd is probably the publick measure of time when causes were heard; of which six parts was allotted to the Accuser, nine to the Criminal, and one to the Judge.

all

all *Antony's* commands ; but *Ventidius* told him that *Antony* was upon his march, and that he must send his proposals to him ; for that he had no power to treat with him to the end that this small affair might be transacted in *Antony's* name, that people might not think , that he did nothing but by his *Lieutenants*. The siege grew very tedious, for when they perceived that they could not make any reasonable composition , they resolved to hold it out to the utmost extremity , so that *Antony* was in great confusion to see how little he had done, and repented himself that he had not accepted the first offer ; in the conclusion he was easily induc'd to make an accommodation with *Antiochus* for three hundred Talents, and having given some orders for the affairs of *Syria* he return'd to *Athens* : And having done *Ventidius* the honours he well deserved he dismiss'd him to receive his Triumph , he was the only man that ever triumphed for Victories obtained o're the *Parthians* : A man of obscure birth , but by the means of *Antony's* freindship obtaind an opportunity of shewing himself, and doing great things ; and his making so good use of it gave great credit to an observation made by *Cæsar*, that *Antony* was much more successful in his Arms, by his *Leutenants*, than in his

his own person ; for *Sossius*, *Antony's* Lieutenant in *Syria*, had done miracles : And *Ventidius*, whom he left in *Armenia*, had quieted all that Country, and defeating the Kings of *Albania* and *Iberia*, had march'd victorious to the Mountains of *Caucasus*, by which means the fame of *Antonie's* arms was grown very terrible to the barbarous Nations.

Antony was much incens'd against *Cæsar*, by reason of several reports, that were made him of his unkindness, so that he set sail with three hundred Ships for *Italy*, and being refused harbour in the Port of *Brun-
dium*, he made for *Tarentum* ; there his Wife *Octavia*, that came from *Greece* with him, obtain'd leave to visit her Brother, she was then big of her third Child ; as she was on her way to *Rome*, she met *Octavius* by the way, his two great Friends, *Mæce-
nas* and *Agrippa*, in his company, she took them aside, and with great impressment, told them, that of the most fortunate Wo-
man upon Earth she was in evident danger of becoming the most miserable Creature breathing ; that every ones eyes were fixt upon her, as the Wife and Sister of the two Men, that did divide the whole world between them, but that, if rash counsels should prevail, and war ensue, I shall be miserable (said she) without redress, for on what side
soever

soever Victory falls, I shall be sure to be a loser. *Cæsar* was softened by the entreaties of his Sister, so that he march'd in a peaceful manner to *Tarentum*. They that were present at this Enterveiw were strangely delighted to see so great an Army drawn up by the Shore, and so great a Fleet in the Harbour without doing any act of hostility; nothing but kind Salutations, and other expressions of joy and friendship passing from one Army to th' other. *Antony* invited *Cæsar* first to supper, which he accepted of in consideration of *Octavia*: At length an agreement was made between them, that *Cæsar* should give *Antony* two of his Legions to serve him in the Parthian War, and that *Antony* should in return leave with him an hundred arm'd Gallies: And *Octavia* did obtain of her Husband besides this, twenty light Ships for her Brother: And of her Brother a thousand Foot for her Husband: So having parted very good friends, *Cæsar* went immediately to make war with *Pompey* to conquer *Sicily*: And *Antony* leaving with him his Wife and Children, and his Children by his former Wife *Fulvia*, set sail for *Asia*. Then it was that the worst of infectious diseases, Love, and the Love of *Cleopatra*, which had lain quiet in his breast so long, and seem'd to have given place to the temperate duties of

Life

Life, upon his approach to *Syria*, gathered strength again, and broke out into a flame; and unbridled Lust, which *Plato* calls the horse of the Soul, that has flung his Rider, broke loose in defiance of all wholesom and serious Council: He sends *Fonteius Capito* to conduct *Cleopatra* into *Syria*, to whom at her arrival, he made no small present; for besides what he had given her, he added the Provinces of *Phœnicia*, the Lower *Syria*, *Cyprus*, great part of *Cilicia*, and that side of *Judea*, which produces the true Balm, that part of *Arabia*, where the *Nabatheans* are, by the Sea side; these profuse gifts did much displease the Romans; for altho he had invested several private persons in great Governments and Kingdoms, and bereaved many Kings of theirs, as *Antigonus* of *Judea*, whose head he caused to be struck off, the first crown'd head, that ever suffer'd that opprobrious death. Yet nothing was so grievous to the Romans, as the vile profusions he made upon that Woman, and their dissatisfaction was much augmented by giving the surnames of the Sun and Moon to *Alexander* and *Cleopatra*, Twins born to him by her. But he, who knew how to varnish over the most dishonest action with specious colours, would say that the greatness of the Roman Empire consisted more in giving, than in taking Kingdoms, and that

that the Noble Blood of Kings was communicated to all the world, when they left their Off-spring in every place they came, and that by this means he had the honour to descend from *Hercules*, who never recommended the hopes of his Posterity to the guard of any one Woman, nor fear'd to transgress the Laws of *Solon* in order to observe the great dictates of Nature, which gives such lively instruction towards the continuance of our Race.

After *Phraortes* had kill'd his Father *Herod*, and taken possession of his Kingdom, many of the Parthian Nobility left their Country, among the rest *Moneses*, a Noble-man of great Authority, who making his application to *Antony*, was received with great kindness, for he lookt upon him as one in the circumstances of *Themistocles*, and his own fortune, considering his great wealth was comparable to the Persian Kings, for he gave him three Cities, *Larissa*, *Arthusa*, and *Hierapolis*, which was formerly called *Bombyce*. But the King of *Parthia* did soon recal him, giving him his Word and honour for his safety; and *Antony* was not unwilling to give him leave to return, hoping thereby to surprize *Phraortes*, for he sent him word he would remain his friend, upon condition he would send back the Roman Standards and Ensigns, which were taken

taken by the Parthians, when *Crassus* was slain, and withal the Prisoners, that remained yet alive of that Battle. This done he sent *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, and gathering his Forces together, and joyning the associate Kings (for there were many of them, the most considerable was *Artasdes* King of *Armenia*, who came at the head of six thousand horse, and seven thousand foot) he made a general Muster, there appear'd sixty thousand Roman foot, ten thousand horse consisting of Spaniards and Gauls, who were esteemed of as Romans; of other Nations horse and foot thirty thousand, and these great preparations, that made *India* tremble, and put all *Asia* into a consternation, were of no use to him, because of *Cleopatra*, for in order to pass the Winter with her, every thing was done in haste, he was so charm'd and bewitch'd with the thoughts of his Mistress, that his Soul was employ'd in overcoming the difficulties that kept him from her more than in any design of vanquishing the enemy, for whereas he should have taken up his Winter Quarters in *Armenia* to refresh his men, who were tired with long marches, having come at least five hundred leagues, and then to have taken the advantage in the beginning of the Spring to invade *Media*, before the Parthians were drawn out of Garrison, he had not

not patience to expect his time, but march'd into the Province of *Atropatene*, leaving *Armenia* on the right hand, and laying waste all that Country, his haste was so great, that he left behind all the Engines of Battery, which follow'd the Camp in three hundred Chariots; among the other Engines there was a ram of fourscore foot long, which was of great use in his designs, and it was impossible, if they were either lost or endamaged, to repair them, or make the like; for the Provinces of the upper *Asia*, produce not Trees long or strait enough for such uses, nevertheless he left them all behind as a great impediment to the designs he had then projected, so that he had left a Party commanded by *Tatians* to guard them, and he himself laid Siege to *Phraata* the principal City of the King of *Media*, wherein were that Kings Wife and Children, here it was, that he was soon made sensible of the Error he committed in leaving the battering Rams behind him, for not having wherewithal to make a breach he was constrain'd with infinite pains to cast up a Mount of earth against the wall during the Siege *Phaortes* arrives with a great Army, who understanding that the Chariots were left behind with the battering engines, he sent thither a strong party of horse, by which *Tatians* with

with ten thousand horse are slain, the Engines all broke in peices, many taken prisoners, and among the rest King *Polemon*. This great miscarriage in the opening the Compagne, did much discourage *Antony's* army, and *Artuafdes* King of *Armenia* despairing of any better success withdrew himself with all his forces from the *Roman* Camp, although he had been the chief promoter of the war. The *Parthians* encouraged by this success came up to the *Romans* at the Siege of their Royal City, and gave them many affronts, upon which *Antony* fearing that the Soldiers might lose courage, or have a less esteem of him if he lay idle, he with all the horse, three Pretorian Cohorts, and ten Legions, was resolved to go out and forrage, designing by this means to draw the enemy with more advantage to a Battail, and to effectuate this he marched a day's journey from his Camp, which did bring the *Parthians* to a Battle, who were drawn up in readiness to charge him so soon as he should march; he orders therefore the Tents and Baggage to be packt up, as if his intention were to decline the giving Battle, and only to lead his men back to the Camp. The enemy was drawn up in a half moon, and *Antony* had given order to the horse to charge them briskly so soon as the Le-

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gions

gions were come up nigh enough to second them. The *Parthians* standing still while the *Romans* march'd by them, were in great admiration of their manlike behaviour and exact discipline; nothing could be more just than the distance which was kept between the ranks, and the shaking their Pikes as they past by in a profound silence was very graceful, but when the signal was given, the horse turn'd short upon the *Parthians*, and with loud cries charg'd them home; they were bravely receiv'd at first, but the Legions coming up with loud shouts and ratling of their arms, did so frighten the horses, and soon the *Parthians* themselves, that they could keep their ground no longer. *Antony* press'd them hard in great hopes that this victory should give an end to the war, the foot had them in pursuit three leagues, and the horse nine, and the advantage summ'd up they had but thirty prisoners, and there was but fourscore slain: This was a great discouragement to them, to consider that when they were victorious their advantage was so small, and that when they were beaten they lost so great a number of men; as it happen'd when the Carriages were taken.

The next day having put the baggage in order they marched back to the Camp before

before *Phraata*, in the way meeting with some scattering Troops of the enemy, and as they marched further with greater parties, at length with the body of the enemies army fresh and in good order, who charg'd them and broke their ranks, that is was not without great difficulty that they reach'd the Camp. There *Antony* finding that his men had in a great consternation deserted the defence of the Mount, upon a sally of the Medes, resolved to proceed against them by decimation, which is done by dividing the Legions by tens, and out of every ten to put one to death as it happens by lot, and for them that escape, they have instead of wheat their proportion of corn in barley. The war was now become grievous to both parties, but was more dreadful to *Antony*, in respect that he was threatened with famine, for he could no longer forrage without great hazard and slaughter of his men. And *Phraortes* on the other side, who was not ignorant of the humour of his men did more then suspect, that if the *Romans* did obstinately persist in their resolution of carrying on the Siege, the autumnal equinox being past, and the rains threatening him he should be deserted by his Soldiers, who would suffer any thing rather than wintering in open field, to prevent which he gave order to his chief

Officers not to pursue the *Romans* too close, when they met them foraging, but to suffer them to carry off some provision, that they should praise their valour, and declare, that it was not without just reason, that their King look't upon the *Romans* as the bravest men in the world, and that they should upon opportunity of more familiar discourse blame *Antony* for his obstinacy, that whereas *Phraortes* desiring nothing more than peace, and an occasion to shew how ready he was to save the lives of so many brave Soldiers, he on the contrary should defeat all his generous designs, and trust himself rather to winter and famine, two enemies, that must of necessity destroy them, though the *Parthians* should use all friendly endeavours to preserve them. *Antony* having these reports from many hands began to be in some hopes, but he would not send any Ambassadors to the *Parthian* till he was informed by these kind enemies whether what they said was of their own head or by order of their King, receiving answer that this was the sense of their Master, and new encouragement to believe them, *Antony* sent some of his friends to demand the Standards and prisoners that were yet remaining in his hands since the defeat of *Crassus*, least if he should ask nothing he might

might be supposed to be too much overjoy'd with leave to make his retreat in quiet. The *Parthian* King made answer, that as for the prisoners he need not trouble himself, but if he thought fit to retreat he might do it when he pleas'd in peace, and safety. Some few days therefore being spent in ordering the baggage he resolv'd upon his march; and here it was that *Antony*, the man in the world the fittest to harangue the army, finding himself oppress'd with shame and grief, could not find in his heart to speak himself, but imploy'd *Domitius Ænobarbus* many of the Soldiers resented it as an undervaluing of them, but the better sort saw the true cause, and thought this rather an argument, why they on their side should treat their General with more respect than ordinary. *Antony* having resolved to return by the same way he came, which was through a plain flat country, a certain *Mardian* came to him (one that was very conversant with the manners of *Parthians*, and whose fidelity to the *Romans* had been try'd at the battel where the machines were lost) and advis'd him to leave the mountains on his right hand, and not to expose his men heavy armed in an open country to the assaults of a numerous army of light Horse and Archers, that *Phraortes* with fair promises had

perswaded him from the Siege, that he might with more ease cut him off in his retreat, but if so he pleased he would conduct him a nigher way, where he should find the necessaries for his army in greater abundance. *Antony* upon this began to consider what was best to be done, he was unwilling to seem to have any mistrust of the *Parthians* after their treaty, but being more desirous to march his army the nighest and most convenient way, he demanded of the *Mardian* some assurance of his faith, who offer'd himself to be bound until the army came safe into *Armenia*. Two days he conducted the army bound, and on the third, when *Antony* little expected the enemy, but marched in no very good order, the *Mardian* perceiving the banks of a River broken down, and the water overflowing the way by which they were to pass, did imagine that this might be done by the *Parthians* to hinder their march, and did therefore advise *Antony* to be upon his guard, for that the enemy was nigh, and no sooner had he put his men in order disposing of the slingers in the front to make the onset, but the *Parthians* came pouring upon them thinking to encompass the army, they were receiv'd by the light horse which were sore gall'd by their javelins, but they themselves being warmly entertain'd

tain'd and many wounded, made their retreat, but soon after rallying up a fresh they were beat back by a battalion of *Gallick* horse, and appear'd no more that day. By their manner of attaque *Antony* being instructed what to do, did not only place the slings and javelins in the front, but lin'd both the wings with the same, and so march't in a square battle, giving order to the horse to charge and beat off the enemy, but not to follow them too far as they retir'd. So that the *Parthians* not doing, much more mischief for the four ensuing days then they receiv'd, began to abate in their heat, and complaining that the winter Season, was much advanc'd press'd for returning home.

On the fifth day *Flavius Gallus* a brave Officer, who had a considerable Command in the Army, came to *Antony* desiring of him some troops of light horse out of the rear, and some other horse out of the front with the which he would undertake to do some considerable service. Which when he had obtain'd he beat the enemy back not retiring as was usual to the gross of the army, but making his ground good and pressing on with great obstinacy, the Officers who commanded in the rear of this detachment perceiving how far he had got from the body of the army sent to warn

him back, but he took no notice of them. 'Tis said that *Titius* the *Questor* snatch'd the Colours and retreated, telling *Gallus* that he did very ill to lead so many brave men on to certain destruction; he on the other side reviling him again and commanding the men that were about him to stand firm. *Titius* made his retreat, but *Gallus* charging the enemies in the front was encompass'd by a party that fell upon his Rear which at length perceiving he sent a messenger to demand succour, but they that commanded the Legions, among which was *Canidius* a particular favourite of *Antony's*, seem'd to have committed a great oversight, for instead of marching up with the whole army they sent small parties, and when they were defeated they still sent out small parties, so that by their ill management the whole Army was in danger of being routed, which had certainly happen'd if *Antony* himself had not march'd from the front of the main battail at the head of the third Legion, which passing through them that fled fac'd the enemies, and hindred them from army farther pursuit. In this engagement were killed three thousand, five thousand were carried back to camp, the wounded, amongst the rest *Gallus* shot through the body with four arrows of which wounds he died. *Antony* went from
Tent

Tent to Tent to visit and comfort the the wounded, and was not able to see his men without weeping, but they would take him by the hand chearfully, and intreat him to go and get his own vvounds drest, and not concern himself for them, calling him their Emperour and their General, and that if he did vvell, they vv ere safe. For in short, never since that time can I make mention of a General at the head of so gallant a body of men; whether you consider strength and youth, or patience and sufferance in all labours and fatigues, but as for the exact obedience and particular respect they bore their General that good will and perfect freindship, that was so universal in the Army amongst small and great, Nobles and pleasants, Officers and common Soldiers, so affectionate and so devoted to him as to prefer his good opinion of them to their very lives and being; that in this part of military discipline I may boldly say they equall'd the glory and reputation of ancient *Rome*. Of which love, as I have said before, many were the reasons, as the nobility and antiquity of his Family, his eloquence, his behaviour, his liberality and magnificence, his Familiarity in entertaining every body, and particularly his kindness in assisting, vi-
siting

sitting and bewailing the sick, furnishing them which all things necessary, that the poor wretches that were sick and wounded were as heartily dispos'd to serve, as those that enjoy'd their health and vigour. But this last victory had so encouraged the enemy, that they began to despise the *Romans* staying all night on horseback nigh the Camp in expectation of plundering their tents and baggage, which they concluded they must desert, as a great impediment in their flight; and in the morning new forces arrived, that their number was grown to be at least forty thousand horse. The King having sent guards that attended upon his own person, as to a sure and unquestion'd victory, for he himself was never present in fight. *Antony* designing to harangue the Soldiers call'd for his mourning habit that he might move them the more, but he was perswaded by his friends to put on the habit of General. In his speech he gave great commendations to them that had gain'd the victory, as for those that fled he blam'd them much, the former gave him great encouragement in their brave promises; and the latter excusing themselves as well as they could, told him they were ready to undergo decimation, or if there were any other punishment he would please to inflict upon them they

they did submit chearfully, only intreating that he would forget and not discompose himself with their faults, at which he lifted up his hands to Heaven, and prayed the Gods, that if to ballance the great favours he had received of them, any Judgment lay in store, that they would pour it upon his head alone, and grant that Army victory. The next day they took better order for their march, and the *Parthians*, who thought they were marching rather to Plunder than to fight were surpriz'd to find the enemy not dishearten'd, but fresh and resolute, so that they themselves began to lose courage; but for all this, at the descent of a little hill, where the *Romans* were oblig'd to pass, the *Parthians* got together, and let fly their arrows in great showers upon them, and by reason of the difficulty of the way their march was very slow. Here the Legions that were arm'd at all points were order'd to defend on each side the light arm'd, by kneeling down on their knees, and holding their shields stooping over them, the next rank holding theirs over the first, and so onwards, that the army in this figure did much resemble the order that is observable in the tiling of a House, or the degrees in a Theatre, and is a sure defence against Arrows, which glance upon them without doing any harm. The *Parthians* seeing the *Romans* down upon their knees could not imagine but that it must

must proceed from weariness ; so that they laid down their Bows, and taking their Spears made a fierce onset : when the Romans with a great cry leaped upon their Legs and with their Lances slew the formost and put the rest to flight. After this rate it was every day, and the trouble they gave Antony was so vexatious that his marches were short, by reason of which the famine was very great in the Camp, for they could get but little Corn, and that which they got they were forc't to fight for. and besides this they were in great want of Instruments to grind their Corn, and make their Bread, they had left them behind, the baggage horses being dead, or otherwise employed in carrying the sick and wounded : Provision was so scarce in the Army, that half a Peck of Wheat was sold for five Crowns, and Oats for the weight in Silver ; they were brought to feed upon Herbs and Roots, such as are commonly eaten were very scarce, so that they were constrain'd to venture upon any they found, among others they happened upon an Herb that was mortal, which did first take away all sense and understanding. He that had eaten of it remembered nothing in the world ; and employed himself wholly in removing of stones from one place to another, which he did with as much earnestness and industry, as if it had been a business of the greatest consequence, and required

red dispatch ; through all the Camp there was nothing to be seen but men grubbing upon the ground for stones, which they carried from one place to another, but in the end after having vomited much Choler they fell down dead, and chiefly this when their Wine began to fail, which was a sovereign remedy against this distemper. When Antony saw them die so fast and the Parthian still in pursuit, he was heard to cry out, *O the ten Thousand, the ten Thousand!* In remembrance of the famous retreat of *Xenophon*, who when he had a longer journey to make from *Babylon*, and a more powerful enemy to deal with, brought his men home safe. The Parthians finding that they could not defeat the Roman Army nor in no wise break the order of their Battel, and that withal they had been so often worsted, began to treat the forragers with a great deal of humanity : they came up to them in all appearance of friendship with their Bows unbended telling them that they were going home to their houses, that they had quite given o're the pursuit, and that only some Median troops would follow them for two or three days, not with any design to annoy them but only for the defence of some scattering Villages, and saying this, they saluted them and embraced them with a great shew of friendship. Antony, who had all a long

a great desire to march through the flat country, hearing these discourses was almost resolv'd to march the open way, and so much the more in regard that no water was to be hoped for in those mountains. But while he was deliberating, *Mithridates* arriv'd in the Camp, he was first cousin to *Moneses* of whom we related that he came for refuge into the Roman Army, and receiv'd in gift from *Antony* three Cities. Upon his arrival he desired some body might be brought to him that could speak *Syriack* or the *Parthian* Tongue. One *Alexander* of *Antioch* a friend of *Antony's* was brought to him, to whom the stranger declar'd, that he was sent to *Antony* from *Moneses* in acknowledgment of the favours and honors he had received from him, and to make him a return if it were possible: he asked *Alexander* if he saw those high hills, pointing at some distance, he told him yes. 'Tis there said he the whole *Parthian* army attend your passage, the great plains behind those hills will be very advantageous to you in your march, and therefore there they do expect you in ambush being perswaded you will confide in their promises, and leave the way of the mountains; 'tis true that in passing o're the mountains you will suffer the usual inconveniences for want of water, and the fatigue will be somewhat the greater; but

if you pass through the plains; *Antony* must in all appearance run the fortune of *Crassus*. This said, he departed. *Antony* calling his friends in council sent for the *Mardian* guide, who was of the same opinion. He told them that the way through the plain was a great way about, and very difficult to find, that the other indeed was rough, but then it was but for a day. Changing therefore his mind he march't away that night, and commanded that every one should carry water sufficient for his own use, but most of them being unprovided of vessels; they made shift with their helmets, those that had bottles fill'd them for their own use. The *Parthians* were no sooner acquainted that the *Romans* were on their march, but they followed them contrary to their custom the same night, and by break of day they fell in with the rear, which was quite tired with marching, and want of sleep, that they were not in condition of making any considerable defence for they had march't fifteen leagues that night, and at the end of their journey found the enemy at their heels, which put them out of all patience: besides being to fight for every step of the way they made in their retreat their thirst was increased beyond all sufferance. Those that were in the front of the army

were

were come up to a River, the water of which was extreemly cool and clear, but brackish and medicinal, and being drank caused an unquenchable thirst, and acute pains in the Bowels: of this the *Mardians* had forewarn'd them, but their thirst was so great, that beating back them that oppos'd them, they drank largely of it. *Antony* ran from one place to another, begging they would have a little patience, that not far off there was a river of wholesom water, and that the rest of the way was so difficult for the Horse that the Enemy could pursue them no further; and saying this, he order'd to sound a retreat to call them back that were engaged, and commanded the Tents should be set up, that the Soldiers might refresh themselves in the shade: but the Tents were scarce well put up, and the *Parthians* retired according to their custome, when *Mithridates* came again to them, and inform'd the Interpreter, with whom he had before spoken, that he should do well to advise *Antony* to stay where he was no longer then needs he must, that after having refresh'd his Troops, he would endeavour with all diligence to gain the next River, that the *Parthians* would pursue them no further, but so far they were resolv'd to follow them. *Alexander* who was the Interpreter made his report to *Antony*, who order'd a good quantity

of Gold Plate to be presented to *Mithridates*, who taking as much as he could well hide under his Gown went his way. Upon this advice *Antony* decamp'd while it was yet day, and the whole Army marcht without receiving any molestation from the *Parthians*; but they themselves were the cause that that night was the most terrible of any they had yet past; for some of the Army had robb'd and kill'd such as they suspected to have any Money, ransackt the Baggage and seiz'd on the Money which was to pay the Army, in the end they laid hands on *Antony's* own equipage, broke all his inlaid Tables, and Cups of precious Stones, dividing the fragments amongst them. *Antony* hearing so great a confusion could not imagine any thing less than that the Enemy, falling upon his Troops, had utterly routed them, upon which he sent for one of his Guards called *Rhamnus*, to whom he had formerly given his liberty, and made him swear, that whensoever he should give him orders, he should run his Sword through his body, and cut off his head, that he might not fall alive into the hands of the *Parthians*; nor dead be known to be their General. While he was in this consternation and all his friends about him in tears, the *Mardian* came into the Tent and gave them all new Life, he did convince them, that by the

coolness of the Air and the fresh gales that blew so temperately, the River which he spoke of could not be far off, and consequently the difficulties of their retreat, and the danger of the Enemies pursuit, were now at an end, the which he was the more assured of, because they had marched a great while and the night almost spent; he was inform'd at the same time that the great confusion, which was in the Camp, did proceed from the avarice of some few Soldiers that were pillaging one another. In order to compose this unruly tumult, he made a halt and commanded the Signal to be given for incamping, the day began to break before the tumult was well appeas'd, and the *Parthians* bore hard upon the Rear with their Arrows; the light arm'd Troops were order'd to make head against them, and being seconded by the Legions, who covered one another with their Shields: they bravely receiv'd the onset of the Enemy, vvhodid not think convenient to advance any further; the Army marching very leisurely, they at last came in sight of the River, vvhich *Antony* upon the Banks drevv up the Horse in a posture to receive and oppose the Enemy, and to favour the passage of his Army o're the River, he first pass over the sick and vvounded, and then all the rest; those that vv ere left dravvn up on th' other side

side had leisure to drink at their ease, for the *Parthians*, being now come to the River which was to be the bounds of their pursuit unbent their bows, and told the *Romans* they might pass over freely, and made them great complements in praise of their valour and conduct, At length the Horse pass over too without being in the least molested by the enemy, and when they were on other side the river they drank their fill, as the others had done before, and joyn'd the rest of the Army, not giving any credit to the fair words of their deceitful enemys. It was six days after the last skirmish that they arrived at the River *Araxes*, which divides *Media* and *Armenia*, and seemed, both by its deepness and the violence of the current; to be very dangerous in passing, and a report had crept in amongst them, that the Enemy was in ambush ready to set upon them as soon as they should be amus'd in their passage. But when they were got over on the other side, and found themselves in *Armenia*, just as if they were come into harbour after a tempest, they worship'd the Land, and shedding tears for joy every one embraced his friend; but taking their journey through a Land that abounded in all sorts of plenty, and having suffer'd great want, they eat

with that excess of every thing they met, that they fell into Dropsies, and Dysenteries. Here *Antony* making a review of his Army, found that he had lost twenty thousand Foot and four thousand Horse, of which the better half perished, not by the Enemy but by Diseases; their march was of twenty seven days from *Phraata*, in which the *Parthians* were worsted in eighteen Battles, by which it is manifest that *Artuafdes* was the cause why *Antony* could not bring this War to a happy end, for had the sixteen thousand *Median* Horse, skilful in the Discipline of the *Parthians*, and accustomed to their manner of fight, been present, the *Romans* having put them once to flight, and the pursuit left to the *Medians*, it is impossible they could have rallied after their defeat, and appear again as they did in a posture to receive the Enemy; for which reason the whole Army was very earnest with *Antony* to march into *Armenia*, but he taking advice of his necessities, did not upbraid him with his dissention, nor in the least abate of the usual civility with which he was wont to treat him; for he found the Army wearied out, and in want of all manner of necessaries, but upon another occasion coming into *Armenia* with invitations and fair promises, he prevail'd with *Artuafdes* to meet him, where he seized him,

bound

bound him and carried him to *Alexandria*, there to be led in triumph; by which he very much offended the *Romans*, in that he carried into *Ægypt* the triumphal Ornaments due unto his Country, only to ingratiate himself with *Cleopatra*: But these matters happen'd afterwards. For the present marching his Army in great haste in the depth of Winter through continual storms of Snow, he lost eight thousand of his men, and came very ill accompany'd to a place called *Leucocome*, situated betwixt *Sydon* and *Berite* nigh the Sea side, where he sat down in expectation of *Cleopatra*, and being impatient of the delay she made, he bethought himself of short'ning the time in drink and debauchery, and not being able to endure the tediousness of a Meal, he would start from Table and run to see if she were coming, and this lasted till she came into Port. She brought with her Cloaths and Money for the Soldiers. Some say that *Antony* having received the Cloaths of her, distributed his own Money in her name.

About this time a difference happen'd twixt the King of *Media* and *Phraortes* King of *Parthia* about division of the booty that was taken from the *Romans*, which caused great apprehension in the *Median* lest he should lose his Kingdome, he sent therefore Ambassadors to *Antony* with offers of entring

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into

into a confederat war against *Phraortes*, which gave *Antony* great hopes of obtaining his desire, seeing that by this means he should have such horse as was necessary to reduce the *Parthians*, and upon this consideration he return'd into *Armonia*, and joyning the King of *Media* nigh *Araxes* they began the War.

Octavia having a desire to see *Antony* easily obtained leave of *Cesar*, not so much to gratify her humour, as to find a good pretence to begin the War upon her ill reception: She no sooner arrived at *Athens*, but in Letters from *Antony* shee understood his new expedition, and his will that she should attend him there, though she were much displeas'd, not being ignorant of the ground of this usage, yet she writ to him to know to what place he would be pleas'd she should send the things shee had brought with her for his use, for she brought cloaths for his Soldiers, many horses, mony and presents for his freinds and Officers, and two thousand chosen Soldiers well arm'd to recruit the *Prætorian Cohorts*. This Message brought *Niger* from *Octavia* to *Antony*; in the relation speaking much of her praise, insisting much upon her merit. *Cleopatra* being inform'd that *Octavia* was coming, and fearing least that her easiness of behaviour and observance of *Antonies* humour joynd with

with her discretion, and powerful alliance, should render her charms irresistible, she betook her self to die for love of *Antony*, bringing her body down with a slender opening Diet; when he entred the room she fixt her eyes upon him in a rapture, and when he took his leave, she never fail'd to swoond; when she design'd to cry, she would turn about and wipe her eyes as being unwilling to let him know the greatness of her concern, all this vvas acting vvwhile he prepar'd for *Media*, and *Cleopatra's* Creatures that vvvere to help forvvward the design, upbraided *Antony* vvwith his insensibility, vvwho could basely see a Lady perish, vvwhose soul depended upon him, and him alone; they added, that it vvas true *Octavia* vvas his Wife, and did enjoy that honourable Title, because it vvas found convenient for the Affairs of her Brother that it should be so, but *Cleopatra* the soveraign Queen of many Nations, must be contented vvwith the name of his Mistrefs, nor did she shun or despise the character, vvwhilst she might see him, vvwhilst she might live vvwith him and enjoy him, if she vvvere bereav'd of this, she vvould not survive the loss. *Antony* vvas so well perswaded that *Cleopatra* must die if he forsook her, that he put off all thoughts of the War and return'd to *Alexandria*; deferring his *Median* expedition till next

Summer though he were inform'd of great seditions among the *Parthians*. Some while after he went into that Country, and made an alliance with the King of *Media* by Marriage of a Son of his by *Cleopatra* to the Kings Daughter, who was yet very young; and so return'd with his thoughts taken up about the Civil War. When *Octavia* return'd from *Athens*, *Cæsar* who thought she had been treated very injuriously commanded her unto his own house, but she refused to leave the house of her Husband, and intreated him, that unless he had other motives to make War with *Antony* that he would desist, thinking it very scandalous to be reported of the two greatest Commanders in the World, that they had involved the *Roman* people in a Civil War, the one to justify his Mistress, the other the resentment of his Sisters usage. Her behaviour did confirm her words to be her resolution, for she retired to his house and took that worthy care, not only of his Children by her, but of those by *Fulvia* also, as if he had been present. She received very kindly all the friends of *Antony* that had any pretension to preferment; or came to *Rome* upon any business, and was ready to prefer their Petitions to *Cæsar*; but this honourable deportment of hers was injurious to the reputation of *Antony*, who could be capable of

of treating ill, a woman of that merit: nor was the dividend he made unto his Sons at *Alexandria* lookt upon but as insolent, and derogating from the honour of the *Romans*; for assembling the people in the publick place, and causing two Golden Thrones to be placed in a State of Silver, the one for him and another for *Cleopatra*, and at their feet lower Seats for his Children, he proclaimed *Cleopatra* Queen of *Ægypt*; *Cyprus*, *Africa* and *Cælosyria*, and with her to be joyn'd *Cæsario* the supposed Son of *Cæsar* the Dictator, who left *Cleopatra* with Child: as for his Sons by him and *Cleopatra*, they were to be treated in the stile of King of Kings: To *Alexander* he gave *Armenia* and *Media* with *Parthia*, so soon as it should be overcome, to *Ptolomy*, *Phœnicia*, *Syria*, *Celicia*. *Alexander* was brought out before the people in the *Median* habit, in a Gown and narrow Hat, and *Ptolomy* in Slippers and a Mantle, with a Cap done about with the Diadem; for this was the habit of the successors of *Alexander*; this the *Median* and *Armenian* dress: and as soon as they had saluted their parents, the one was received by a Guard of *Macedonians*, the other by one of *Armenians*. *Cleopatra* was then, as at other times, when she appear'd in publick, dress'd in the habit of the Goddess *Isis*, and did give audience unto the people under the

the name of the new *Isis*. *Cæsar* relating these things in the Senate, and often accusing him to the people, had created in them an ill will towards him: Nor was *Antony* backward in his part to recriminate. The principal of his Articles were these; First, that he had not made any division with him of *Sicily*, which was lately taken from *Pompey*. Secondly, that he had not made restitution of the Ships he had lent him. Thirdly, that the power of *Lepidus*, his Collegue being abrogated he had retained his Army, his Governments, and the Revenues to him appropriated: And Lastly, that he had parcell'd out almost all *Italy* amongst his own Soldiers, and devised nothing to his *Cæsars* answer was as follows: 'That since *Lepidus* was not fit to Rule he had dismiss'd him, 'the Government, that what he had got in 'War he would divide with *Antony*, so soon as 'he would give him his share of *Armenia*: 'That his Souldiers had not their share in 'Italy, because they were in possession of 'Media and *Parthia*, which having fought 'bravely under their Emperour they had 'joyned to the Roman Empire. *Antony* was in *Armenia* when this news came to him, he presently therefore sent *Canidius*, with sixteen Legions towards the Sea, but he in the company of *Cleopatra* went for *Ephesus*, where the Rendezvous of the Fleet

Fleet was order'd, which consisted, reckoning in the tenders of eight hundred Vessels, of which *Cleopatra* furnish'd two hundred, and *twenty thousand Talents, with Provision for the whole Army during the War. *Antony* was advised by *Domitius* and some others to send *Cleopatra* into *Egypt*, there to expect the event of the War: but she dreading a peace might be contriv'd by the mediation of *Octavia*, had prevail'd with *Canidius* by a considerable sum of Money to plead her Cause with *Antony*, and to let him know that it was not just, that one that bore so great a part in the charge of the Wars, should be robb'd of her share of Glory in the carrying it on; nor wou'd it be politick to disoblige the *Egyptians*, who were so considerable a part of his Naval Forces: Nor did he see how she was inferior to any of his Companions in Prudence, considering how well she had govern'd a great Kingdom by herself alone, and by the constant management of affairs, had arrived to a great Capacity. These arguments gain'd upon his Spirit, for it was destin'd by Fate, that *Cæsar* should have all: So that joyning their Forces, they made Sail for *Samos*, where they made very good Chear; for as it was order'd that all Kings, Princes and Governors, all Common-Wealths and Cities within

Nigh one
million of
our Money.

within the Circuit and dependances of *Syria*, the *Mæotide* Lake, *Armenia*, and *Illyria*, do bring, or cause to be brought all preparations and munition necessary for War, so was it also proclaim'd, that all such as made any profession of divertisement should make their appearance at *Samos*; so that (while the whole World was in Tears and lamentation) this Island alone for some days was fill'd with all sorts of Harmony, and the Theatre crowded with Dancers and Comedians, each City sent Oxen for Sacrifice, and the Kings that accompany'd *Antony* were in a perpetual dispute, who should make the most magnificent Feasts, and the greatest presents; every particular man astonisht at what he saw, saying, what will they do to be glad enough when they have got the Victory; since they are at such an expence of merriment at the opening of the War? This over; he gave *Priene* to his Players for a Habitation, and set Sail for *Athens*; where a fresh, Sports and Theatres were his joy. *Cleopatra* being jealous of the Honour *Octavia* had receiv'd at *Athens* (for *Octavia* was much beloved by the *Athenians*) she insinuated her self into the favour of the people with all the civilities imaginable: The *Athenians* in requital; having decreed her Publick honours, deputed several of the Citizens

zens, to wait upon her at her House, amongst the which *Antony* was one as being free of the City; and he it was that made the Speech: He sent order to *Rome* to have *Octavia* removed out of his House, accompany'd by all *Antony's* Children, except the Eldest by *Fulvia*, who was then with his Father; weeping and grieving that she must be look't upon as one of the Causes of the Civil War, she was pityed by the *Romans*, but more was *Antony* pityed by them that had seen *Cleopatra*, who was not preferable to *Octavia*, neither for Youth nor Beauty. *Cæsar* having an account what great preparations *Antony* had made, was afraid least the War should be begun that Summer, for he wanted many necessities, and the people grudged very much to pay the Subsidies, for they that were obliged to pay the fourth of what their yearly Revenue was; and the *Libertines* who payed an eighth, did do it with such reluctance, that great troubles had like to have ensued throughout all *Italy*; and this is looked upon as one of the greatest of *Antony's* oversights, that he did not then press the War, for he gave *Cæsar* leisure to provide himself, and satisfy the people, for while that money is squeezing out of the People, they are very mutinous, but when they have parted with it they are well enough

nough satisfy'd to be quiet. *Titus* and *Plancius*, men of consular dignity and friends to *Antony*, having been ill us'd by *Cleopatra*, whom they oppos'd in her design of being present in the War; came over to *Cæsar*, and being acquainted with the contents of *Antony's* Testament did inform him, it was deposited in the hands of the Vestal Virgins, who did deny to deliver it up, but sent him word if he pleas'd he might come and seize it himself, which he did, and reading it over to himself, he noted those places that were most for his purpose, and having summoned the Senate did read them publickly: Many were scandalized at the proceeding, thinking it very hard that they should think of punishing a man for what was not to be, till after his death. He did more urgently press what *Antony* had left in his Will concerning his burial, for he had order'd, that though he died in the City of *Rome*, his body should be solemnly carried through the Market place, and sent to *Cleopatra* at *Alexandria*. *Cicero* a dependant of *Cæsar*, urg'd other crimes against *Antony* committed in the favour of *Cleopatra*, that he had given her the Library of *Pergamum* wherein were two thousand distinct Volumes: That at a Solemn Feast he had risen from the Table and treading upon her foot had given her

married

manifest assignation, that he had suffer'd the *Ephesians* to salute her by the name of their Queen. That he had frequently at the publique audience of Kings, and Princes received amorous Messages written in Tablets made of Onyx and Chrystal and read them openly, that when *Turnius* a man of great authority and Eloquence among the *Romans* was pleading; *Cleopatra* happening to pass by in her Chair, that *Antony* should leave them in the middle of their Cause, and wait upon her home: But *Calpurnius* was look't upon as the inventor of most of these Accusations. *Antony's* friends went up and down the City to gain him Credit, and sent *Geminus* to him, to let him know his affairs did require he should be more circumspect, that he was in danger to have all his Governments taken from him, and be proclaim'd publick Enemy to the City of *Rome*; but *Geminus* no sooner arriv'd in *Greece*, but he was look't upon as one of *Octavia's* spies, he was scurvily rallied, and set at the lower end of the Table, but this he bore very well seeking only an occasion of conferring with *Antony*; but once at supper being demanded what his business was he came about. He answer'd that his business might very well deserve a serious conference, but one thing he had to deliver, which might be spoke

spoke either full or fasting, which was that matters would bear much a better Face, if *Cleopatra* would return into *Ægypt*: *Antony* being very angry, *Cleopatra* told him *Geminus* you have done very well to tell us this important secret without a Rack: *Geminus* took an occasion, to make his escape and got to *Rome*, many more of *Antony's* friends were driven from him, by the insolent usage they could not bear from *Cleopatra's* flatterers, amongst the which were *Marcus*, *Syllanus* and *Dellius* the Historian. The last declared he was afraid of his life, and that *Glaucus* the Physician had inform'd him of *Cleopatra's* design against him. She was angry with him, for having said that *Antony's* friends were serv'd with sour Wine; and that at *Rome*, *Sarmentus*, *Cæsar's* Mignons little serving Boy, drank *Falernum*. *Cæsar* was no sooner in readiness, but he declared War against *Cleopatra*, and *Antony's* Government was taken from him, for his being ruled by a Woman; *Cæsar* added that he had drank potions that had bereaved him of his Senses, that the War would be manag'd against them by *Mardion* the Eunuch, *Photinus*, and *Iras*, *Cleopatra's* waiting Woman, and *Charmion*, who were become *Antony's* Chief Counsellors.

These Prodigies were said to forebode the War, *Pisaurum*, where *Antony* had set the

tled a Colony near the *Adriatick* Sea, was swallowed up in an Earth quake: a Marble Statue of *Antony*, that was at *Alba*, did sweat for many days together; and tho' it were often wip'd, it continued to sweat: When he himself was in the City of *Patras* the Temple of *Hercules* was burnt by lightning: At *Athens* *Bacchus* was by a great Wind blown out of the Battle of the Giants and the Gods, and laid flat upon the Theatre; for *Antony* did derive himself from *Hercules*, as we said before: And in imitating *Bacchus* in his way of living, was called young *Bacchus*; the same Whirlwind at *Athens* did bring down from amongst many others, the great Statues of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, which were called the *Antonine* Statues. And in *Cleopatra's* Admiral, which was called *Antonias*, a dismal prodigy did happen, some Swallows had built in the Stern of the Admiral; but other Swallows came, beat the first away, and destroy'd their Nests. Preparations being made on both sides, *Antony* had no less than five hundred Gallies well appointed, most of them had eight and ten Banks of Oars, so very rich that they seem'd designed for Triumph. He had a hundred thousand foot, and twelve thousand Horse, he had of *Vassal* Kings attending, *Bacchus* of *Lybia*, *Tarcondemus* of the upper *Cilicia*,

Archelans of *Cappadocia*, *Philadelphus* of *Paphlagonia*, *Mithridates* of *Commagena*, and *Adallas* King of *Thracia*; all these attended him in the War: Out of *Pontus* *Polemon* sent him considerable Forces, as did also *Manchus* from *Arabia*, *Herod* out of *Jury*, and *Amyntas* King of *Lycaonia* and *Galatia*, and the *Median* King sent their Troops to joyn him. *Cæsar* had two hundred and fifty stout Gallies, fourscore thousand Foot, and the number of Horse equal to the Enemy. *Antony* had under his Command, all that tract of Land, that lies betwixt *Euphrates*, and the *Ionian* Sea, and great part of *Illyria*. *Cæsar's* Government extended from *Illyria* to the Westward Ocean, and from the Ocean all along the *Tuscan* and *Sicilian* Sea; as for the division of *Africk*, *Cæsar* had all the Coast that was opposite to *Italy*, *Gaul*, and *Spain*, and *Antony* the Provinces from *Cyrene*, reaching up into *Æthiopia*: He was so besotted with the Love of *Cleopatra*, that although he was much Superior to the Enemy in Land Forces, yet out of complaisance to his Mistress, he rather chose to engage him by Sea, and that when he could not but see how ill his Navy was supply'd; his Captains for want of Mariners pressing every one they met, Carriers, Ostlers, Labourers, and Boys; and for all this, the Vessels had not their

their complement, but remained in a very ill plight for Sailing. *Cæsar* on the other side had his Navy contriv'd, not for shew but for service, no pompous Galleries but built light, and well mann'd with experienc'd Sailers from *Tarentum* and *Brun-dusum*; from thence he sent to *Antony*, not to draw out the time in delays, but that he would bring up his Forces, that he would give him secure Ports for his Fleet, and that for his Land Forces he would give him as much ground to encamp in, as a horse could run over from the Sea side up the Continent. *Antony* on the other side bravely challeng'd him to a single Combat, tho he were much the older, and that being refused propos'd to meet, him in the *Pharsalian* fields, where *Julius Cæsar* and *Pompey* had fought before. Whilst *Antony* was at Anchor before *Actium*, where now stands *Nicopolis*, *Cæsar* crost the *Ionian* Sea, and gain'd *Toryne* a place in *Epirus*, upon which *Anton's* Souldiers were ready to mutiny in consideration that their land Forces were a great way off, but *Cleopatra* turning it into a jest; indeed, said she, we ought to tremble now *Cæsar* is sat down before *Toryne*: On the morrow at break of day *Cæsar* appears, his Fleet drawn up in a Line ready to engage, which *Antony* perceiving, and not being assured that his Gallies, so ill

This jest will not come into our Language, Toryne is a Ladle, and the meaning is, that they had no more reason to fear his preparation for War, than his preparation for his Dinner.

provided, would be able to stand the shock, he armed all the Rowers, and made a shew upon the Decks of being in readiness to engage; the Oars were mounted on each side of the Vessels, and so he Sailed up into the mouth of the Port of *Actium*, as though he were in all points provided for an engagement. And *Cæsar* deceiv'd by this stratagem retir'd. He also cut off the Water, from the Enemy, by making of Trenches and Forts, the water not being plentiful in those parts, nor very good. His carriage to *Domitius* was very generous, and much against the will of *Cleopatra*, for when he had made his escape in a little Boat to *Cæsar*, having then an Ague upon him, altho *Antony* could not but resent it highly, yet he sent after him his whole Equipage, with his Friends and Servants, and *Domitius*, as if he would have given a Testimony to the World how ashamed he was of his base desertion, dy'd soon after. Among the Kings, also *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus* went over to *Cæsar*, his Fleet was so unfortunate in every thing that was undertaken, and so unready upon every design, that *Antony* was constrain'd to lay his strength upon the Land Forces: *Canidius*, too, who commanded the Legions, when he saw how things stood, chang'd his opinion, and now was of advise that *Cleopatra* should be sent back, and that retiring into *Thracia* or *Macedonia*.

cedonia, the quarrel might be decided in a Land fight, and that *Ditomes* the King of the *Getes* was in a readiness to attend him with a great Army, and that it was not in the least any disparagement to him to quit the Sea to *Cæsar*, who in the *Sicilian* Wars had gain'd so great experience in Sea affairs, but that it would seem very ridiculous for *Antony*, the greatest Captain of the World, to make no use of his well disciplin'd and stout Troops, but to scatter them, and render them useless in the defence of a Navy; but for all this, *Cleopatra* prevail'd that a Sea-fight should determine of all, having then an eye to flight, and ordering all her affairs not as if she had the least thought of victory, but how she might, when all was lost, make her escape with greatest safety. There was a long neck of Land, which from the Camp ran into the Sea, where the Fleet rid at anchor; here *Antony* used to walk without suspecting any danger, but *Cæsar* upon information from a Servant that it was not difficult to surprise him, laid an ambush, which rising up somewhat too hastily, seized the man that came just before him, he himself escaping narrowly by flight: when it was resolv'd to stand to a fight at Sea, they set fire of all, but sixty of the best *Egyptian* Vessels, and these he mann'd with twenty thousand armed men, and two thousand

Archers: Here it is reported of a foot Captain, well experienc'd in War, and one that had fought often under *Antony*, and had his Body all mangled with wounds, that he should cry out, *O most noble General, why do you mistrust these Wounds and Swords you see, to put your confidence in rotten Wood, let Egyptians and Phœnitians contend at Sea give us the Land where we will die upon the spot or gain the victory.* To which he answer'd nothing, but by his look, and motion of his hand, seeming to bid him be of good courage, he pass'd forwards having no opinion of the posture of affairs; and when the Masters propos'd the leaving of Sails behind them, he commanded they should be put aboard, *for we must not* said he, *let one Enemy escape.* That day, and the three following, the Sea was so rough they could not engage, but on the fifth there was a calm, and then they fought. *Antony* commanding with *Publicola* the right, and *Celius* the left Squadron. *Marcus Octavius* and *Marcus Junius* the middle Squadron, *Octavius* had given the charge of the left Squadron to *Agrippa* commanding in person the right: As for the Land Forces, *Canidius* was General for *Antony*; *Taurus* for *Cesar*, both Armies being drawn up in great order all along the Shoar. *Antony* in a small Vessel went from one Ship to another encouraging his Soldiers, and advising them to

stand

stand firm, and that the largeness of the Ships would render the fight, as fixt as if they were at Land: To the Masters he order'd that they should receive the Enemy lying still as at Anchor, and maintain the entrance of the Port, which was a dangerous pass. They relate of *Cesar*, that going out of his Tent before day in order to visit his Fleet, that he met a man driving an Ass, and asking his name, he told him it was *Eutychus* (which signifies fortunate) and my Ass, says he, is called *Nicon* (which is Conquerour); and afterwards when he dispos'd the Beaks of the Ships in that place in token of his Victory, the Statue of this man and his Ass in Brass were placed amongst them, having view'd his whole Fleet, and from the right Squadron discovering the Enemies posture, he much admir'd the quiet order they were in, for in all appearance they seem'd as if they had been at Anchor, and therefore he slack'n'd his course, for they were not above half a League from one another; about noon a gentle Southern Wind did blow; and then *Antony's* men being weary of expecting the Enemy so long, and trusting to their large tall Vessels, as if they had been invincible, began to advance the left Squadron. *Cesar* was overjoyed to see them move, and order'd the right Squadron to retire, that he might get out to Sea as far as he could, his

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design

design being to encompass him round with his light Gally's that were full mann'd, the Enemy being scarce able to move by reason of their great bulk, and in proportion to their bigness being very ill furnisht with Seamen, and Soldiers. When they engaged there was no striking of one Ship against another, because *Antony's* Ships, by reason of their great burthen, were incapable of being in a quick motion, by which the stroke is made effectual: on the other side, *Cæsars* Ships durst not strike upon the head of *Antony's*, which were all arm'd with Spikes of Iron, nor durst they give upon the Sides, by reason they were made of strong square pieces of Timber fasten'd together with Massy Pins of Iron. So that this engagement resembled a Land Fight, or that I may speak more properly the attaque of some strong place, for there was always three or four Vessels about one of *Antony's*, pressing them with Pikes, Javelins, Darts, and several inventions of Fire, which they flung among them: *Antony's* men pouring upon them with their Machines from off their Wooden Towers, *Agrippa* drawing out the Squadron under his command, to hem in the Enemy, *Publícola* was oblig'd to observe his motions and desert the middle Squadron, which was sorepressed by *Arruntius*, Fortune not having yet determined on the day; when on a

suddain

suddain *Cleopatra* with her sixty Sail was seen to make out to Sea, and to take her way quite through the Ships that were engaged, for they were placed behind the great Ships, which in breaking through they put to great disorder, the Enemy was astonished to see them with a fair wind to make for *Peloponnesus*: Here it was that *Antony* betray'd himself; here his behaviour was so below the Character of a Captain, nay, indeed of any thing that was man, and much more below himself, that he confirm'd what has formerly been observ'd, that a Lovers Soul lives in another body, for as if he had been born part of her, and so to be carried where-soever she went, as soon as he saw her Ship under Sail, he abandoned all that were to spend their lives for him, and put himself aboard a Gally of five Ranks of Oars, taking with him only *Alexander* of *Syria*, and *Scellius*, to follow her that had so well began his ruine, and would be sure to accomplish it. She perceiving him to follow gave the signal to come aboard: so soon as he came up with them he was helped into the Ship, but without seeing her, he sets himself down very melancholy in the Stern, with both his hands supporting his head: in the mean while *Cæsars* light Ships that were in pursuit of *Antony*, came into sight, but *Antony* commanding to tack about they all gave back

back, but one *Eurycles* the *Laconian* a stout fellow, who from off the Deck shook his Lance in a very threatening posture. *Antony* standing at the Stern demanded of him who he was that pursued him so hard: *I am*, says, he, *Eurycles the Son of Lachares arm'd with Cæsar's Fortune to revenge my Fathers death*, this *Lachares* had been condemned to death by *Antony* for a robbery; but he did not venture to attack *Antony*, but ran with his full force upon the other Admiral, for there were two Ships so distinguished, and with the blow turn'd her round and took her and another Ship, wherein was all his rich Plate and Furniture: So soon as *Eurycles* was gone, *Antony* returned to his posture and sat silent; thus he behaved himself for three days, either angry or sham'd, and then arriv'd at *Tenarus*. There the Ladies that were intrusted with their most important Affairs, first brought them to speak together, then to eat, and at last perswaded them to lie together, several Ships, and many of his friends, followed him, and brought him the news of his Fleets being quite destroy'd, but that the Land Forces did yet stand firm, so that he sent Messengers to *Canidius* to march his Army through *Macedonia* into *Asia*, and designing to go from *Tenarus* to *Africk*, he gave one of the larger Ships laden with vast Sums of money, and Vessels of Silver and Gold

Gold of an inestimable price to his friends, desiring them to share it amongst them, and provide for their own safety; they refusing his kindness with tears in their eyes, he comforted them with all the goodness and humanity imaginable, intreating them to retire, and writ Letters in their behalf to *Theophilus* his Steward at *Corinth*; that he would provide for their security, and keep them conceal'd till such time, as they could make their peace with *Cæsar*. *Theophilus* was the Father of that *Hipparchus*, who had so great interest in *Antony*, and was the first of all his Servants that went over to *Cæsar*; he settled afterward at *Corinth*. In this posture were *Antony's* affairs.

This Fleet of *Antony's* that engaged before *Actium*, suffer'd much by a stiff Gale that blew fresh in their Stern, was scarce routed till four o' th' Clock in the afternoon, with the loss of but five thousand men, and three hundred Ships, as *Cæsar* himself writes in his Commentaries, those that saw with their own Eyes the flight of *Antony* could not make others believe so incredible a thing, that a General, that had ten intire Legions, and twelve thousand Horse upon the Sea shore, could so basely desert them, and he above all the world, who had so often seen Fortune in all her shapes, and been so accustomed to changes;

changes: His Souldiers who did passionately desire his arrival, still fancying he would appear from some part or other, gave great Testimony of their generous fidelity to his service, who when they were throughly perswaded that he was fled in earnest, kept themselves in a body seven days, making no account of the Embassadors that *Cæsar* sent to them, but at last, seeing that *Canidius* himself, who commanded them, was fled from the Camp by Night, and that the chief Officers had abandon'd them, They put themselves into the hands of him that was strongest. After this *Cæsar* set sail for *Athens*, where he made a peace with *Greece*, making a distribution of the provision of Corn which *Antony* had made for his Army, among the *Grecian* Cities which were reduced to extrem poverty; having been robb'd of their Money, their Slaves, their Horses, and all their Beasts of Service. My great Grandfather *Nicearchus* us'd to relate that the inhabitants of the Cities of *Greece* having no Horses, were compell'd with stripes to carry a certain measure of Corn upon their shoulders to the Sea side, nigh *Anticyra*; but this hardship did not last, for when they were upon the second expedition, news came of *Antony's* defeat, this saved *Cheronea*, for the persons concern'd in the Generals affairs; and

and all the Souldiers fled upon this news, and left the inhabitants to divide the Corn amongst them.

When *Antony* came into *Lybia*, from the Town of *Paretonium*, he sent *Cleopatra* into *Ægypt*, and staid himself in a very solitary condition, having no Company but two of his familiar friends, the one *Aristocraces* a *Grecian*, the other *Lucilius* a *Roman*; we have already spoken of the last in the life of *Brutus*, and how that to give him leisure to escape at the Battle of *Philippi*; he suffer'd himself to be taken pretending to be *Brutus*. *Antony*, gave him his Life, and he remained firm to him to his last day.

To add to the afflictions of *Antony*, he understood, that he who commanded for him in *Lybia*, to whose care he had committed all the Troops of that Country, was gone over to *Cæsar*; there he had a great mind to kill himself, but was hindered by his friends, and coming to *Alexandria*, he found *Cleopatra* busied in a most prodigious enterprise. There is but a small space of Land which divides the *Red Sea* from the *Mediterranean*, which also separates *Asia* from *Africk*, and in the narrowest place is not much above thirty six miles over, *Cleopatra* had formed a project of dragging her Gallies over this Neck of Land, and of setting them on Float in the Red-

Red Sea, with all her riches aboard to seek some remote Country, where she might live in peace secure from War and slavery: But the first Gallies which were carried over, being burnt by the *Arabians* of *Petra*, and *Antony* not knowing but that the army before *Actium* stood yet firm; she desisted from her enterprize, and gave orders for the fortifying all the avenues of her Kingdom, but *Antony* leaving the City and the conversation of his friends, built him a house nigh *Pharos* upon a little Mount which he had cast up in the Sea, and there secluding himself from the company of mankind, he resolved to imitate the life of *Timon*, because he had received the same hard usage; and that for the ingratitude and injuries, which he suffer'd from those he had obliged and esteemed his friends, he would hate and mistrust all Mankind.

The History
of Timon.

This *Timon* was a Citizen of *Athens*, and lived in the time of the *Poloponnesian* War, as may be seen by the Comedies of *Aristophanes* and *Plato* in which he is lashed as the hater and Enemy of mankind. This man having a long time avoided, and despised the converse of every Body; and meeting *Alcibiades* a bold young Gentleman, he civilly saluted him and embraced him. *Apemantus* was astonisht and demanding the reason; *Oh*, says *Timon*, you can-

not

not imagine what mischief this young man will one day do the Athenians: He never admitted any one into his Company, but this *Apemantus*, who was much of the same humour, and a zealous imitator of his way of Life. At the celebration of the Feasts for the Dead, these two were eating together, and *Apemantus*, saying to him, *Oh Timon this is a pleasant Feast: It would be so*, he answer'd *if thou wert away*. One day he got up in a full Assembly into the Pulpit, and a great silence being made by reason of so unusual a sight, he began his Speech which was thus: *Ye men of Athens, I have a little Court-Yard, and in it grows a Fig Tree, on which many of your Citizens have been pleas'd to hang themselves, and now having resolved to build in that place, I could not omit the making publick Declaration of my design, lest I should prejudice any one by cutting down my Tree that has a mind to hang himself*. He died and was Buried at *Hales* nigh the Sea, which swells in that place, and flowing round his Monument makes it inaccessible the Monument had this inscription.

*The wretches heart who here does lie
Did burst with grief and Misery.
Ask him not his name to tell,
But God confound ye all, farewell.*

And

And this Epitath was made by himself while yet alive; that which is usually reported to be his was made by *Callimachus*.

*Here Timon lies who hated man, begon,
Curse mortal curse again, but pray march on.*

Thus much of *Timon* of whom much more might be said. *Canidius* brought *Antony* word of the loss of his army which was before *Actium*; then he received news that *Herod* of *Judea* was gone over to *Cæsar* with very considerable Troops, that several great Commanders had deserted him, and that his interest was quite ruin'd every where; All this did not in the least move him, but quitting all hope that he might be rid of all care, and leaving his habitation by the Sea, which he call'd the *Timonium*, he was received by *Cleopatra* in the Palace, and the whole City was diverted by him with feasting, drinking, and presents. The Son of *Cæsar* and *Cleopatra* was registred among the youths and *Antyllas* his own Son by *Fulvia* received the Gown without the purple border which was given to them that are come of age; so that the Citizens of *Alexandria* did nothing but Feast and revel for many days, they broke up the order of the inimitable

*This Gown
was given
at sixteen.*

ble Livers, and constituted another in its place nothing inferiour to the former in splendor and luxury, and called it the *Divers* together; for all those that would dye with *Antony* and *Cleopatra* gave in their Names, passing their time in all manner of pleasures, and treating one another by turns. But *Cleopatra* was busied in making a collection of all manner of poysonous drugs, and desirous to know which of them were the least painful in the Operation, she sent them to be tried upon such as were condemn'd to dye, but finding that those poysons that had a quick effect caused sharp pains and great Convulsions, and that the milder were so very long a working, she set her self to the examination of Vene-mous Creatures, applying one sort to one Body, and another to others; and this was her daily practice, still finding that nothing was comparable to the bite of the *Aspe*, which, without the least convulsion or groaning, caused a great heaviness in the head and desire of sleep with a gentle sweat all o're the Face, the senses being stupify'd by degrees; the patient in appearance, being sensible of no pain, but rather troubled to be disturb'd or awaken'd, like those that are in a profound natural sleep. They both sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* into *Asia*, *Cleopatra* petition'd

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for the Kingdome of *Ægypt* for her Children; and *Antony* that he might have leave to live a private man in *Ægypt*, and if that were thought too much, that he might retire to *Athens*, for want of friends, so many having deserted, and the remainder not deserving to be trusted, *Euphronius* his Sons Tutor was sent of this Embasie. For *Alexas* of *Laodicea*, who by the recommendation of *Timagenes* came acquainted with *Antony* at *Rome*, and had the greatest power over him of any of the Grecians, and was of all the insinuating Spirits, which *Cleopatra* made use of to perswade *Antony*, the most successful, and the only man that could oppose *Octavia's* Counsels, was sent to *Herod* to keep that King from desertion, but he betraying his master slaid with him, and confiding in *Herod's* interest, had the impudence to come into *Cæsars* presence, but *Herod* was not able to protect him, for he was presently bound in Fetters and sent into his own Country, where by *Cæsars* order he was put to death; this reward of his Treason did *Alexas* receive while *Antony* was yet alive. *Cæsar* denying *Antony's* request made answer to *Cleopatra*, that there was no manner of favour which she might not reasonably expect, if she put *Antony* to death, or banish't him.

He

He sent back with the Ambassadors his own Servant *Thyreus* a man of no Ordinary parts, and not unlikely to succeed; coming from an Emperour in his youth to a vain Woman easily puffed up with her own praises, and putting so great trust in her Charms. This Man making his audience much longer than Ordinary and receiving great honours from her, made *Antony* very jealous; so that he order'd him to be first whipt, and then sent back to *Cæsar*, writing him word he had been provok'd by his proud insolent Carriage, and that a man in his Circumstances was no great master of his passions, but that if he took it ill, he had his Servant *Hipparchus* by him, whom he might use after the same manner, that they might be upon even Terms. But *Cleopatra*, that she might make atonement for her own indiscretion, and lay his jealousy, made all the submission imaginable: When her birth day came she kept it as was suitable to their deplorable Fortune, but his was observ'd with great splendor and magnificence, so that many of the Guests sat down in great want, and went home wealthy Men. After the defeat of *Antony*, *Agrippa* writ many Letters to *Cæsar* to let him know how necessary his presence was at *Rome*; for which reason the War was deferred for a

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season, but the winter being over, he began his march; he himself by the way of Syria and his Captains through *Africk*. *Peleusium* being taken, there went a report as if that Town had been delivered to *Cæsar* by *Seleucus* not without the consent of *Cleopatra*; but she to justify her self gave up into *Antony's* hands, the Wife and Children of *Seleucus*. She had caused to be built joyning to the Temple of *Isis* several Tombs and Monuments of a stupendious height, and very considerable for the workmanship, thither she removed her Treasure, her Gold, Silver, Emeralds, pearls, Ebony; Ivory, Cinnamon, and after all, of Torches and Flax a great quantity, upon which *Cæsar* began to fear least she should in a desperate fit set all these riches on fire, therefore while he was marching towards the City with his Arms he omitted no occasion of giving her assurance of his respect. *Cæsar* having incamped in the Court where they used to manage their Horses, *Antony* made a fierce Sally, routed the horse, and beat them back into their Trenches, and so return'd with great satisfaction to the Palace where meeting *Cleopatra*, arm'd as he was, he kist her, and recommended to her favour a brave fellow that had signaliz'd himself in this engagement, to whom she made

a present of a Coat of Armour, and Helmet made of Gold, which he having received, went that very Night and rendred himself to *Cæsar*. After this *Antony* sent a Challenge to *Cæsar* to fight him hand to hand, who made him answer that he might find several other ways to end his life, and he considering with himself that he could not die more honourably than in Battle, resolv'd to fight *Cæsar* both by Land and Sea. As'tis reported he commanded his servants to treat him chearfully and fill him his Wine plentifully, that to morrow they should not do the same; but become Servants to a new Master, when he should lie extended on the ground, a poor dead Corps, a very nothing: His friends that were about him, wept to hear him talk on this manner, which he perceiving, he told them he should not lead them out to fight with greater expectation of an honourable death, than of a glorious Victory. At the dead of Night when the whole City was in a deep silence and consternation in expecting the event of the next day, on a sudden was heard the sound of all manner of instruments, and a horrible noise like to that which is made at the Feasts of *Bacchus*; this tumultuous procession seem'd to have broke in at one Gate of the City

Antony
forsaken of
all his
Troops.

ty, to have quite travers'd it, and have gone out at the Gate which the Enemy lay before; and this did signifie to them that understand prodigies, that *Bacchus* the God whom he had always a particular inclination for, and whom he did study to imitate had now forsaken him: As soon as it was light he march't his foot out of the City, and posted them upon a rising ground from whence he saw his Fleet make up to the Enemy. There he stood in expectation of the Event, but as soon as ever the Fleets came nigh to one another, his first saluted *Cæsars*, which having return'd the complement, they presently joyn'd, and withall their force row'd up to the City; *Antony* had no sooner seen this, but the Horse deserted him, and rendered themselves to *Cæsar*, and his Foot being defeated, he retired into the City roaring out that *Cleopatra* had betray'd him, when he had fought only for her sake. She being afraid least in his fury and despair he might do her a mischief; fled to her Monument, and making it as fast as she could with Bars and bolts: she sent to make *Antony* believe she was dead. He believing it, cry's out, Now *Antony* what hast thou to do in this World? Fate now has snatch't away the only cause for which thou could'st endure to live. Going
into

into his Chamber, and opening his Coat of Armour. *I am not* (says he) *troubled Cleopatra, to be at present bereaved of you, for I shall soon be with you, but this does much afflict me, that so famous a General should be inferiour in greatness of mind to a Woman.* He had a faithul Servant whose Name was *Eros*, he had engaged him formerly to kill him when he should think it necessary; and now he put him to his promise, *Eros* drew his Sword as designing to kill him; but when his back was turn'd he slew himself, and falling dead at his feet, well hast thou done my *Eros*, who ^{Antony kills himself.} since thou hadst not the heart to dispatch thy master, hast taught him what he ought to do, and so he ran himself into the Belly, and laid himself upon the Couch. He dy'd not presently of the wound, and by reposing himself, the blood being a little stop't he came to himself, and intreated those that were about him, to put him out of his pain, but they all fled out of the Chamber, and left him bewailing and tormenting himself, whil't *Diomedes* Secretary to *Cleopatra* came to him, having been commanded to bring him to her in the Monument; when he understood she liv'd, with a great deal of Vigor he gave order to his Servants to take him up, and in their Arms was carried to the door
of

of the Monument, *Cleopatra* would not open the door, but looking from a window she let down Cords to which *Antony* was fastned, and she and her two Women, which were all that was suffer'd to enter the Monument, drew him up. 'Tis reported that nothing was more sad than this spectacle, to see *Antony* cover'd all over with Blood, just expiring, still holding up his hands to her, and lifting up his body with that little force was left, nor was the Womens an easier task, *Cleopatra* taking great pains, and straining hard with her head to the ground, tugging at the Rope, they that stood below encouraging her, and pitying her Condition: When she had got him up, she laid him on the Bed tearing all her Cloaths which she spread upon him beating her breasts with her hands, and wiping the blood from off his face, she call'd him her Lord, her Husband, her Emperour, and seem'd to have forgot her own miserable condition, she was so intent upon his misfortunes. *Antony* comforted her as well as he could, and call'd for wine to drink, either that he was thirsty, or that he imagin'd that it might put him the sooner out of pain; when he had drank he advis'd her to take her own affairs into consideration, and as far as it would consist with her reputation to compose them

them; and that among all the friends of *Cæsar* she should apply her self to *Proculeius*, that she should not pity him in this late turn of fate, but rather rejoyce in remembrance of his past happiness, who had been of all men that ever liv'd the most illustrious, and powerful, and in the end had bravely fought like a *Roman*, and been by a *Roman* overcome: just as he breath'd his last *Proculeius* arriv'd from *Cæsar*: For when *Antony* gave himself his Deaths wound and was carried into *Cleopatra*, *Dercetæus* one of his guards took up *Antony's* Sword and hid it, and when he saw his opportunity, stole away to *Cæsar*, and brought him the first news of *Antony's* Death, and withal shew'd him the bloody Sword. *Cæsar* upon this news retir'd into his Closet, and paying some Tears to the memory of one that had been his Kinsman, Partner, and faithful Companion in so many Wars and dangers, he came out to his friends, and bringing with him many letters; he read to them with how much reason and moderation he had always treated *Antony*, and in return what fierce and arrogant answers, he receiv'd. From thence it was he sent *Proculeius* to use his utmost endeavours to get *Cleopatra* alive into his power, for he was afraid of losing a great Treasure, and besides she would be
no

no small addition to the Ornaments of his triumph; but she refus'd to confer with him but from within her Monument, he standing on the outside of the Door, which was strongly barr'd, but so that they might well enough hear one anothers voice, her demand was that her Kingdom might be dispos'd to her Children, he still insisting that she would be of good courage, and leave intirely to *Cæsar* the consideration of her Affairs, he having taken particular notice of the place return'd to *Cæsar*, who sent *Gallus* to parly with her the second time, who being come to the Door did on purpose prolong the conference while *Proculeius* had fixt his scaling Ladders in the Window; through which the women had pull'd up *Antony*, and being follow'd by two Servants he went streight down to the Door where *Cleopatra* was discoursing with *Gallus*, one of the women who was shut up in the Monument with her, was heard to cry out, Oh wretched *Cleopatra* thou art taken alive, she turn'd quick and spying *Proculeius*, drew out her Dagger to stab her self, but *Proculeius* running up to her and seizing her with both his hands, for shame (said he) *Cleopatra* you wrong your self and *Cæsar* much, who would rob him of so fair an occasion of shewing his clemency to the whole World, and in this unjust action of yours would seem to

accuse

accuse the most courteous and worthiest of men, of being implacable and not fit to be confided in, and disarming her, he examined her Robe for fear of any poyson, that might be hid therein. After this *Cæsar* sent *Epa-phroditus* one of his Servants with order to treat her with all the gentleness and civility imaginable, but withal to be very intent that he left her no opportunity of making her self away.

In the mean while *Cæsar* makes his entry Cæsar enters Alexandria. into *Alexandria* with *Areius* the Philosopher by his side, holding him by the hand and talking with him, that he receiving so great honours from him, might be the more considered by his fellow Citizens, then entering the open place where they usually perform'd their Exercises, he mounts the Throne (which was there on purpose erected) from whence he commanded the Citizens, who in great fear and consternation lay prostrate at his Feet, to stand up, and told them, *That he forgave the people of Alexandria all their Crimes they had committed: First, for the sake of Alexander, who built their City, then for the City's sake it self, the largest and most beautiful in the World; and Thirdly, to gratifie his friend Areius.* These honours did *Cæsar* confer upon *Areius*, by whose intercession many others lives were sav'd, amongst the
which

which was *Philostratus*, a man of all the professors of Eloquence the most ready and and fam'd, for his extemporary Speeches, but he having insinuated himself without any merit into the Academy, and his morals being detested by *Cæsar* had his Petition rejected: He with a long white Beard, and a black Cloak was always at *Areius* his Heels repeating this Verse,

*The wise men will the wise men save
If that the wise men wisdom have.*

Which *Cæsar* hearing gave him his pardon to prevent rather the ill report might be rais'd of *Areius* than in any consideration of *Philostratus*. Of *Antony's* Children, *Antyllus* by *Fulvia*, betray'd by his Tutor *Theodorus*, was put to death; while the Soldiers were murd'ring him his Tutor contriv'd to steal a precious Jewel which he wore about his Neck, and put it into his Pocket, which he denying was Convicted of Theft and hang'd. *Cleopatra's* Children with their Governours had a Guard set on them, and were treated very honourably. *Cæsario* who is reported to have been the Son of *Cæsar* the Dictator, was sent by his Mother with a great Sum of Money through *Ethiopia* to pass into *India*, but his Tutor being as

honest,

honest as *Theodorus*, had perswaded him to turn back to *Rhodes* for that *Cæsar* design'd to make him a King. *Cæsar* consulting what was best to be done with him, 'tis reported of *Areius* that he should say * plurality of *Cæ-* * Ουκ εστιν πολυκαι-
σαιη. in
allusion
to Homers
εκ αγαθη
πολυκοιτα-
vin.
sars is not safe, and afterwards he was put to death so soon as *Cleopatra* was dead. Many Kings and great Commanders made petition to *Cæsar* for the body of *Antony*, to give him his Funeral rights, but he would not dispose of his Corps from *Cleopatra*, who buried him with her own hands with all splendor and magnificence, it being granted to her to employ what she pleas'd in his Funeral. In this extremity of grief and and sorrow, and having inflamed and ulcerated her Breasts with beating them, she fell into a high Fever and was very glad of this occasion, as pretending to abstain from Meat in consideration of her Disease, and so to die in quiet without being importun'd to live, her Physician whom she confided in was *Olympus*, to whom she communicated this design, and made use of his advice to rid her self of this miserable life: As *Olympus* himself says, having Writ the History of these matters. But *Cæsar* suspecting her design threatned to use her Children ill, which was the only battery capable of forcing her high spirit, so that she suffer'd any one to give her what Meat or what

what Medicine they pleas'd. Some few days after *Cæsar* himself came to make her a visit and comfort her: She lay then upon her Pal-let Bed in great disorder, but he being entred she rose from off her Bed, having nothing on but a thin Garment, she slung her self at his feet being strangely disfigured, her Hair and Face torn, with a trembling voice, and her eyes sunk in her head, on her body were many marks of blows, and it was in a decent condition to attend her grieved Soul, but for all this her good air and mein was not impair'd, some sparks of beauty still remaining, and in spite of grief shining from within, and appearing in every graceful motion. *Cæsar* desiring her to repose her self, sat down by her, and this opportunity she took to justify her proceedings, alledging that what she had done was more out of fear of displeasing *Anthony* than from her own inclinations, which when *Cæsar* confuted in every Article, that she insisted upon, she presently turn'd her discourse to move his compassion, as if she desired nothing more then to prolong her life, and having by her a list of all her treasure she gave it into his hands, but *Seleucus* being present, who was one of the Treasury, told her that she had laid aside and suppressed many things of Value, upon which she fell into such a fury, that flying from

from her Bed, she caught him by the Hair and strook him several blows on the Face, *Cæsar* smiling and withholding her, is not it very hard *Cæsar* (said she) when you do me the honour of a visit in this wretched condition I am in, that I should be affronted by one of my Menial Servants, if I have laid by any womens toys, they never were design'd Ornaments, for one of my miserable Fortune, but that I might have some little Present by me, to make your *Octavia*, and your *Livia*, that by their intreaties I might hope to find you in some measure dispos'd to mercy. *Cæsar* was pleas'd to hear her talk thus; being now assur'd that she was desirous to live, and he did therefore let her know that those things she had laid by she might dispose of as she pleas'd, and his usage of her should be honourable above her expectation, and so he went away well satisfied that he had over-reacht her, but he was himself deceiv'd: there was a young Nobleman named *Cornelius Dolabella* one of *Cæsars* favourites, one that had a great kindness for *Cleopatra*, he sent her word privately, as she had engaged him to do, that *Cæsar* was about to return into *Syria*, and that she and her Children were to be sent before within three days: when she understood this news, she made her request to *Cæsar*, that he would be pleased to permit her

Cleopatra's
Lamentation
over
Antony's
Tomb.

her, to make her last Oblations to the departed *Antony*, which being granted, she order'd her self to be carried to the place where he was buried, and there upon her knees, accompany'd by her women, she embrac'd his Tomb with tears in her eyes, and spake in this manner : *My dearest Antony (said she) it is not long since, that with these hands I buried thee, then they were free, now am I a miserable captive and pay these last Duties to thee, with a guard upon me, for fear that my just griefs and sorrows should impair my servile Body, and make me less fit to appear in their Triumphs over thee. No further offerings and sacrifice expect from me, these are the last honours that Cleopatra ere can pay thy memory, for she is to be hurried away, far from thee. Nothing could part us whilst we liv'd; but death doth seem to threaten for ever to divide us. That thou a Roman born shouldst lie buried here in Egypt, and I an Egyptian should be carried into Italy, there to expect that favour only; but if the Gods of thy Country, with whom thou now art, either can or will do any thing (for our Gods have betray'd us) suffer them not to leave me whilst I yet have life, let me not be lead in Triumph to thy shame; but have a little room in thy Grave, for amongst all my bitter misfortunes nothing has prest my Soul with*

so

so hard as to have liv'd thus long without thee.

Having made these lamentations, crowning the Tomb with Garlands of Flowers, and kissing it, she gave orders to prepare her a Bath, and coming out of the Bath, she eat very sumptuously : After Supper a Country fellow brought her a little Basket, which the Guards intercepting, and asking what it was, the fellow put the leaves, which lay uppermost, aside, and shew'd them it was full of Figs, and they, admiring the largeness and beauty of the Figs, were invited to take of them, which they refused, and suspecting nothing bid him carry them in : Then *Cleopatra* sent to *Cæsar* a Letter and sealed it, and putting every body out of the Monument, but her two Women, she shut the doors : *Cæsar* opening her Letter and finding therein such earnest requests that she might be buried in the same Tomb with *Antony*, he soon guess'd what was doing, once he was going himself in all haste, but changing his Mind, he sent one to see how affairs stood. Her death was so suddain that those that were sent by *Cæsar* surpriz'd the Guards with their apprehensions, who breaking open the doors found her stone dead, lying upon her Bed of Gold set out in all her Royal Ornaments : *Iras* one of her Women lay

*Cleopatra's
Death.*

S

dead

dead at her feet, and *Charmion* just ready to tumble, scarce able to hold up her own Head, was adjusting her Mistress's Diadem, which was out of order; and when one that came in said, Was this well done of your Lady *Charmion*? extremely well, she answer'd, and becoming so great a Queen; as she said this she fell down dead by the Bed-side. Some relate that an Asp was brought in amongst those Figs and covered with leaves, and that *Cleopatra* had order'd it so that she might be bit without seeing it; and that, in taking up the leaves, she should say, holding out her Arm to it, *Art thou there*? Others say that it was kept in a Glass, and that she vex't and prick't it with a golden Spindle; but no one knew the certainty; for they reported also that she carried Poison in a golden Bodkin, about which she wound her Hair; but there was not so much as a spot found or any suspicion of Poison in her Body, nor was any living Creature found within the Monument, but a certain track of a creeping Creature imagin'd to be seen on the Window side upon the Sand nigh the Sea: Others say that *Cleopatra* had two marks in her Arm imprinted very small by the Sting of the Asp, to which *Cæsar* seem'd to have given credit, for that *Cleopatra's* Statue was carried

ried in Triumph with an Asp fixt to her Arm; and with these uncertainties are these things related: Although *Cæsar* were very much disappointed by her death, yet he could not but admire the greatness of her Mind, and did grant that her Body should be buried by *Anthony* with all the Ceremony and Magnificence which was due unto her Quality, her Women also were buried in great splendor. *Cleopatra* died in the Nine and Thirtieth Year of her Age, of which she had Reigned Twenty Two; the Fourteen last years joyn'tly with *Anthony*: *Anthony* died at the Age of Fifty three, some say Fifty Six, the Statues of *Anthony* were all demolish't, but those of *Cleopatra* remain'd untouch't; for *Archibius* her Friend had given *Cæsar* a Hundred and fifty thousand Pound that they should not run the same fate with *Anthony's*. *Anthony* left by his Three Wives seven Children, of which *Antyllus* the eldest only was put to death: *Octavia* took the rest and bred them with her own. *Cleopatra*, his daughter by *Cleopatra*, was Married to *Juba* a comely Prince: *Anthony* his Son by *Fulvia* was in that esteem, that whereas *Agrippa* was the chief Favourite of *Cæsar*, and the Sons of *Livia* held the second Rank, the third Place without any dispute

Anthony's
Children.

was reckon'd to be posselt by *Antony*: *Octavia* also having had by her first Husband *Marcellus*, two Daughters and one Son named *Marcellus*, *Cæsar* gave unto him his Daughter in Marriage and by that means adopted him; and *Octavia* gave one of her Daughters in Marriage to *Agrippa*, but *Marcellus* dying soon after his Marriage, and she perceiving that her Brother was not easie to determine whom to choose for his Son in Law, was the first that did perswade him to give his Daughter *Julia* to *Agrippa*, though in so doing he was to quit her Daughter: *Cæsar* agreed to this Proposal and married *Julia* to *Agrippa*, and she receiving her Daughter back married her to *Antony*; of the two Daughters which they had by this Marriage, the one was married to *Domitius Ænebarbus*, and the other *Antonia* famous for her Beauty and Discretion was married to *Drusus* the Son of *Livia*, and Son in Law to *Cæsar*, of this Line came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: *Clodius* was Emperor, and *Caius* also the Son of *Germanicus*, who having Reigned very wickedly was slain, He, his Wife, and his Daughter *Agrippina*, who had *Lucius Domitius* by *Ænebarbus*, was afterward married to *Claudius Cæsar*, he adopted *Domitius*, whom
he

he named *Nero Germanicus*; he was Emperor in our time, and put his Mother to death, and with his madnets and folly did well nigh ruin the *Roman* Empire; he was in the Fifth Degree from *Antony*.

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THE

(262)

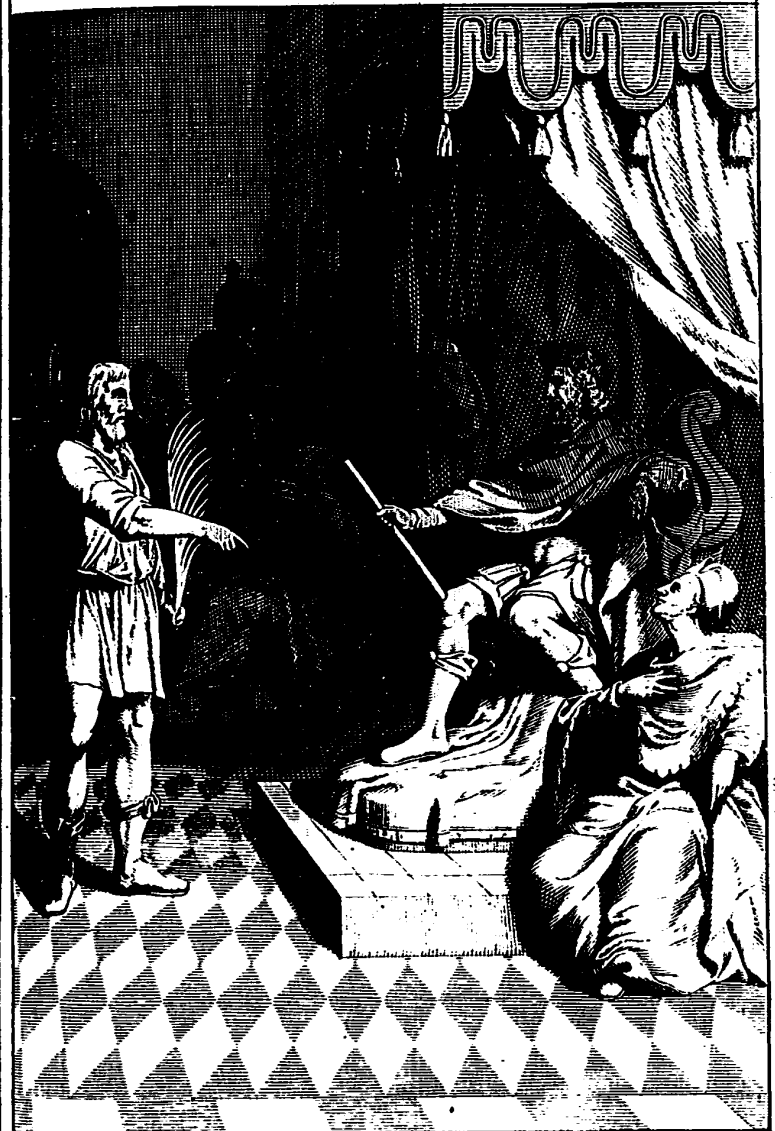
THE
L I F E
O F
DEMOSTHENES.

Translated from the Greek.

V O L U M E V.

WHoever it was, *Soffius*, that wrote the Poem in praise of *Alcibiades* upon his winning the Horse race at the *Olympian Games*, whether it were *Euripides*, (as 'tis most commonly reported) or some other person, he says, That to a mans being happy, it is in the first place requisite he should be born in some famous City, But for him that would attain unto true happiness, which for the most part is placed

DEMOSTHENES.



W. Boucher delin. et sculp.

ced in the qualities and disposition of the mind, it is, in my opinion, of no other disadvantage to be of a mean obscure Country, than to be born of a Woman that is uncomely and low of stature. For it were ridiculous to think that *Julis* a little part of *Ceos*, which it self is no great *Iland*; and that *Ægina*, which a certain *Athenian* once ordered to be removed, as a small eye sore, out of the Haven of *Piræus*, should breed good Actors and Poets, and yet should never be able to afford a Just, Temperate, Wise, and Valiant man. Other Arts indeed, whose end it is to acquire Riches or Honour, are likely enough to wither and decay in poor obscure Towns; but Vertue like a strong and durable plant takes root and thrives in any place, where it can lay hold of an ingenuous Nature, and a mind that is industrious. Wherefore if either in our judgement of things, or Course of Life, we fall short of what we ought to do, such failer we may justly attribute to our selves, and not to the meanness of our Country. ———

Nevertheless, whosoever shall design to write an History consisting of materials which must be gathered from Observation and the reading of Authors, not easie to be had nor writ in his own Native Language, but many of them Foreign and dispers'd in other hands

hands; for him it is in the first place, and above all things most necessary to reside in some City of good note and Fame, addicted to liberal Arts, and populous; where he may have plenty of all sorts of Books, and upon inquiry may hear, and inform himself of such particulars, as having escaped the Pens of Writers, are yet more faithfully preserved in the memories of Men: least otherwise he publish a Work deficient in many things, and those such as are necessary to its perfection.

But for my own part I live in a little Town, where yet I am willing to continue least it should grow less: and having no leisure, while I abode in *Rome*, and other parts of *Italy*, to exercise my self in the *Roman* Language, both by reason of some publick business, and for the sake of those who came to be instructed by me in Philosophy; it was very late, and in the declination of my Age before I applied my self to the reading of Latine Authors. Upon which occasion, that which happened to me may seem strange, though it be true, for it was not so much by the knowledge of Words, that I came to the understanding of Things, as, having gain'd some sort of experience in Things by this means I attained to the signification of Words. But to acquire a Gracelul and ready pronun-

nunciation of the *Roman* Tongue, to understand the various Figures and connexion of Words, and such other ornaments in which consists the Beauty of that Language, it were, I must confess, a pleasant and very agreeable diversion, but the study and exercise which is required to this is not easie, and will better suite with those who have more leisure, and time enough yet before them for such Gallantries. —

Wherefore in this Book (which of φιλοτιμιας: my Parallel Lives is the Fifth) intending to write concerning *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, we will from their Actions and employments in the Commonwealth consider the natures and dispositions of both of them together: But to examine and compare their Orations one against the other; to shew which of the two was the more fluent and pleasing, which the more close and smart Speaker, that we shall let alone. For there (as *Ion* saies:)

We are but like a Fish upon dry Land.

Cacilius (a Man apt to overshoot himself upon all occasions) was not aware of this, when too rashly he adventured to publish his comparison of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*. But if it were a thing obvious and easie for every Man, *To know himself*, possibly that saying, *γινῶσθαι σαυτὸν* had not passed for a Divine Oracle. Now for *Demosthenes* and

Demosthenes
compared
with *Cicero*.

and *Cicero*, the Gods seem from the first to have made them much the same in their Natures and Constitutions, and in their Fortunes much alike : if we consider their Ambition, their Love of Liberty in the Commonwealth, and their want of Courage in Dangers and Martial affairs. And, I think, there can hardly be found two other Orators, who from small and obscure beginnings became so great and mighty ; who both contested with Kings and Tyrants, both lost their Daughters, were driven out of their Country and return'd with Honour, who flying from thence again were both seized upon by their Enemies, and at last ended their lives, together with the Liberty of their Country-men. So that if there were a Trial of skill between Nature and Fortune, as there is sometimes between Artists, it would be very hard to judge, whether That made these men more alike in their Dispositions and Manners, or ; This in their Adventures and Affairs,——

But we will speak of the Eldest first.—

The Paren-
tage of
Demosthenes.

Demosthenes, the Father of this *Demosthenes* was a Citizen of the best Rank and Quality (as *Theopompus* writes) He was surnam'd the Swordmaker ; because he had a large Workhouse, and kept Servants skilful in that Art at Work. But of that which

As

Æschines the Orator said of his Mother, that she was descended of one *Gelon*, who fled his Country upon an accusation of Treason, and of a Barbarian Woman, I can affirm nothing, whether he spoke true, or whether he slandered and belied her. This is certain that *Demosthenes* being as yet but ^{His Estate.} Seven years Old was left by his Father in a plentiful condition (for the whole value of his Estate was little short of Fifteen Talents :) But he was injur'd by his ^{Guardians.} Guardians, part of his fortune being by them imbezled, and the rest neglected : Insomuch that even his Teachers were defrauded of their Salaries. This was the reason that he had not so liberal Education, and wanted such Learning as became an ingenuous Youth : besides that, his Mother, for the tenderness and weakness of his Body, did not put him upon labour, nor did his Masters force him. He was thin and ^{Constitu-} sickly from the beginning of his Age ; ^{tion,} and 'tis said, that in respect of his bodily infirmities, the Boys in scorn put upon ^{Nick-} him the reproachful Nickname of *Batalus* ; ^{names.} now this *Batalus* (as some say) was a ^{*Batalus*.} weak effeminate Piper ; and *Antiphanes* made a Play on this Subject in derision of him : Others make mention of *Batalus* as a Poet, who wrote wanton Songs and Lampoons : and it should seem that a cer-
tain

Argas.

tain part of the body, not fit to be named, was about that time called *Batalus* by the *Athenians*. But the Name of *Argas* (for this also they report to have been a Nickname of *Demosthenes*) was put upon him for his behaviour, as being fierce and morose, (for some of the Poets call a Serpent *Argas*) or for his way of speaking which was offensive to his Hearers (for *Argas* was also the name of a Poet who made very bad and harsh Sonets.) But so much for this, as *Plato* says.

The first
beginning
of his stu-
dying Ora-
tory.

The first occasion of his eager inclination to Oratory, they say was this, *Callistratus* the Orator being to plead in open Court for *Oropus*, the expectation of the Issue of that Cause was very great, as well for the ability of the Orator, who had then a most flourishing Reputation, as also for the Fame of the Action it self. Therefore *Demosthenes* having heard the Tutors and Schoolmasters agree among themselves to be present at this Trial; with much importunity he persuades his Tutor to take him along with him to the Hearing; who having some acquaintance with the Door keepers, easily procur'd a place where the Boy might sit unseen and hear what was said. *Callistratus* having got the Day, and being much admired, the Boy began to look upon his glory with a kind of Emulation,

Emulation, observing how he was courted on all hands, and magnified by the Multitude. But much more did he wonder at the force of his Eloquence, able to subdue and win over any thing. From this time therefore bidding farewell to other sorts of Learning and Puerile Disciplines, he now began to exercise himself, and to take pains in Declaiming, as one that meant indeed to be an Orator: He made use of *Isæus* as his Guide to the Art of Speaking; though *Isocrates* at that time kept a School: Whether (as some say) because he was an Orphan, and was not able to pay *Isocrates* his Salary, being Ten pounds; or because he preferred *Isæus* his way of speaking, as being more effectual and fit for Use and Business. But *Hermippus* saith that he met with certain Memoirs without any Authors name, in which it was written that *Demosthenes* was a Scholar to *Plato*, and by him was much furthered in the Study of Eloquence: And he also mentions *Ctesibius* as reporting from *Callias* of *Syracuse* and some others, that *Demosthenes* secretly got, and thoroughly learned the Arts of *Isocrates* and *Alcidamas*. — — —

What Ma-
sters he
had.

As soon therefore as he was grown up to Man's estate, he began to go to Law with his Guardians and to write Orations against them, who in the mean time found out many Subterfuges

Demosthenes
sues his
Guardians.

Subterfuges and Tricks to renew the Suites But *Demosthenes* (as *Thucydides* has it) being thus exercised by declaiming, and succeeding in it, though not without some toil and hazard, could not for all this recover any considerable part of his Fathers Estate; however attaining hereby to a confidence in Speaking, and some competent experience in it, and having got a taste of the Honour and Power which are acquired by Pleadings; he now ventured to come forth and to undertake Publick business. And as 'tis said of *Laomedan* the *Orchomenian*, that by advice of his Physician he used to run long stages for the curing of some indisposition of his Spleen, and by that means having through labour and exercise fram'd the habit of his Body, betook himself to the *Garland Games*, and became one of the principal Runners at the long Race: So it hapned to *Demosthenes*, who first applying himself to Oratory for Recovery of his own private Estate, and so getting an ability of speaking; at length in Publick Business, as it were in those *Games*, he began to have the pre-eminence of all those Citizens who contended for mastery in Pleading at the Bar. But when he first addressed himself to the Popular Assembly, he met with great discouragements and was derided for his odd and uncouth way of speaking; for his Pe-

Begins to
plead pub-
lickly.

His discour-
agements.

riods were confus'd and his Arguments forc'd, which made all seem very harsh and tedious. Besides he had (it seems) a weakness in his Voice, a perplexed and indistinct Utterance, and a shortness of Breath, which by breaking and disjoyning his Sentences, much obscur'd the sense and meaning of what he spoke: So that in the end being quite disheartned he forsook the Assembly; and as he was walking carelessly, and sauntering about the *Piræum*, *Ennomus* the *Thiasian* (then a very old Man) seeing him, upbraided him, as one who having a way of speaking much like that of *Pericles*, through softness of mind and cowardliness was wanting to himself; neither bearing up with courage against Popular tumults, nor fitting his Body for Action, but suffering it to flag and languish through meer sloth and negligence. Another time when he was exploded the Assembly, and went home with his Head musled up, taking it very heavily, they report that *Satyrus* the Actor followed him, and being his familiar acquaintance fell into discourse with him. To whom when *Demosthenes* bemoaned himself, that having been the most industrious of all the Pleaders, and having almost spent the whole strength and vigor of his Body in that employment, he could not yet find any acceptance

acceptance with the People; that Drunken Sots, Mariners, and Illiterate fellows were heard, and possessed the Pulpit, while he himself was despised: You say true (*Demosthenes*) replied *Satyrus*, but I will quickly remedy the Cause of all this, if you will repeat to me some Sentence out of *Euripides* or *Sophocles*: Which when *Demosthenes* had pronounced, *Satyrus* presently taking it up after him, so humor'd and rendred the same Sentence with such a becoming meen and gesture, that to *Demosthenes* it seemed quite another thing. By this being convinced how much Grace and Ornament accrues to Speech from due Action, he began to esteem it a small matter, and as good as nothing, for a Man to exercise himself in Declaiming, if he neglected Pronunciation and the Decency of Speaking. Hereupon he built himself a place to study in underground (which still remains with us.) And hither he would come constantly every day to form his Action, and to exercise his Voice, and here he would continue oftentimes without intermission two or three Months together, shaving one half of his Head, that so for shame he might not go abroad though he desired it never so much. Nor was this all, but he also made his Conversation with People abroad, his Discourse, and his Business subservient to his Studies, taking

His study-
ing place
and indu-
stry.

from hence Occasions and Arguments as Matter to work upon. For as soon as he was parted from his Company, down he would go presently into his Study, and run over every thing in order that had passed, and the reasons that might be alledg'd for and against it. Besides, such Speeches as he was present at, he would recollect with himself and reduce into Periods, and whatever others spoke to him, or he to them he would correct, translate, and vary several ways. Hence it was that he was looked upon as a Person of no great Natural Wit, but as one who owed all the power and ability he had in speaking to Labor and Industry: Of the Truth of which this was no small sign; that a Man should not lightly hear *Demosthenes* ever speak upon the occasion, but though he were by Name frequently called upon by the People as he sat in the publick Assembly, yet he would not rise up to Plead unless he had well considered the Business, and came prepared for it: So that many of the Popular Pleaders used to flout at him: And *Pytheas*, once scoffing him, said, That his Arguments smelt of the Lamp. But *Demosthenes* replied upon him sharply; 'Tis true indeed, *Pytheas*, (said he) your Lamp and mine is not conscious of the same things. But to some others he would

Demosthenes.
seldom spoke
extempore.

not much deny this, but would freely confess, that in his Pleadings he did neither commit all to Writing, nor yet wholly speak without Notes; And moreover he would affirm, that he ought to be accounted the most Popular speaker who used Premeditation; such Preparation being a kind of respect to the People; whereas to slight and take no care how what is said, is like to be resented by the Multitude, favors more of an Oligarchick humour, and of one that intends force rather than perswasion. But of his want of courage and assurance to speak *Extempore*, they make this also another Argument: That when he was at a loss and discomposed, *Demades* would often rise up on the sudden and readily assist him, but *Demosthenes* was never observed to do the same for *Demades*. Whence then (may some say) was it that *Æschines* speaks of him as a Person so much to be wondered at for his boldness in speaking? Or how could it be when *Python* the *Byzantian* with so much confidence, and such a Torrent of Words inveighed against the *Athenians*, that *Demosthenes* alone stood up to oppose him? Or when *Lammachus* the *Myrrinean* had writ a Panegyrick upon King *Philip* and *Alexander*, in which he uttered many things reproachfully of the *The-*

bians and *Olythians*, and at the *Olympian Games* recited it publickly; how was it that he presently rising up, and rehearsing historically and demonstratively what benefits and advantages all *Greece* had received from the *Thebans* and *Chaloidians*, and on the contrary what mischiefs the Flatterers of the *Macedonians* had brought upon it, so turned the Minds of all that were present, that the Sophister fearing the Tumult privily withdrew himself out of the Assembly? But *Demosthenes*, it should seem thought the other Qualities of *Pericles* to be of little use to him; but for his Action and Behaviour, and his forbearing to speak on the sudden, and upon every occasion, as being the things to which principally he owed his greatness, these he followed and endeavoured to imitate; neither wholly neglecting the Glory which the present occasion offered, nor yet willing too often to expose his Faculty to the mercy of chance. Indeed the Orations which were onely spoken by him, had much more of boldness and confidence in them, then those that he wrote; if we may believe *Erato-*
sthenes, *Demetrius Phalercus*, and the Co-
medians: Amongst whom *Erato-*
sthenes saith that in his Pleadings he would be oftentimes transported with a kind of Rage and Fury: And *Phalereus* that he would

Censures of
Demosthenes.

frequently repeat to the People that Oath in the Verse :

By Earth, by Springs, by Rivers, and by Streams.

As a Man, inspired and besides himself. One of the Comœdians calls him *Ρωποπερὴν* a bundle of foolish idle words: Another scoffs at him for using that *Antithesis* *ὅσως ἀπίλαβεν ὥσως ἔλαβε*, for *Demosthenes* much affected this expression. Unless perhaps *Antiphanes* might speak this jestingly with allusion to his Oration concerning *Halonesus* which *Demosthenes* persuaded the *Athenians* not to take of King *Philip* but to take from him. But all acknowledged *Demades*, upon the meer use of his Natural Wit, a Person not to be outdone; and that in what he spoke on the suddain he excelled all the Studies and Preparations of *Demosthenes*. And *Aristo* the *Chian* has related a certain Censure which *Theophrastus* passed upon the Orators, For being asked what kind of Orator he accounted *Demosthenes*. He answered, *Worthy of the City of Athens*. And then what he thought of *Demades*. He answered, *Above it*. And the same Philosopher reports that *Polyeuclus Sphettius*, one of the Magistracy about that time, was wont to say,

say, That *Demosthenes* was the greatest Orator; but *Phocion* the ablest Pleader, being One who express'd the most Sense in the fewest words. And indeed it is reported that *Demosthenes* himself, as often as *Phocion* went up into the Pulpit to plead against him, would say to his acquaintance, *Now stands ἡ τῶν ἐμῶν ἡ* *up he that will cut asunder all I have said. λόγων κο- πῆς.* Yet it does not appear whether it was from the Eloquence of this Man, or from his Life and Reputation that *Demosthenes* had such an opinion of him; as thinking one word or nod from a Man in so high credit to be of more authority and force, than the many and long Speeches of others.

Demetrius the *Phalerean* tells us, having received the relation (as he says) from *Demosthenes* himself, now grown old; that the ways he made use of to help the natural infirmities and defects of his Body were such as these: His inarticulate and stammering Pronunciation he overcame and rendred more distinct by speaking Orations with Pebles in his Mouth; His Voice he exercised by discoursing and pronouncing Speeches or Verses when he was out of Breath with running or going up steep places. And in his House he had a large Looking-Glass, before which he would stand and repeat his Declamations. It is reported

that a certain Man coming to crave his advice and assistance, and relating at large what blows he had received from his adversary ; sure said *Demosthenes*, thou hast suffered nothing of all this thou talkest of. Upon which the Man straining his Voice and crying out a loud, How, *Demosthenes*! have I suffered nothing? I marry, replied he, Now I hear the Voice of one that has been injur'd and beaten. Of so great consequence towards the gaining of belief, did he esteem the tone and action of the Speaker. The action which he used himself was wonderfully pleasing to the Common People; but by those of the better sort (of whom *Demetrius Phalereus* was one) it was looked upon as low, mean, and unmanly. Yet *Hermippus* says of *Æsion*, that being asked his opinion concerning the ancient Orators and those of his own time, he answered That one would have wondred to hear those Ancients, with what *decorum* and grandure they address'd themselves to the People, but the Orations of *Demosthenes* appear most admirable upon reading, both for their artificial compofure and strength of Argument. The Speeches indeed which were pen'd by him, a Man may well say, were written with much severity and with some kind of bitterness; but in his repartees on the suddain he was usually facetious and pleasant

pleasant. To *Demades* saying *Demosthenes* ^{His Repar-} teach me? So may the Sow teach *Minerva*. ^{tees.} he replied, That *Minerva* of yours was lately taken playing the Whore in *Collytus*. To a Thief whose name was * *Calchus* at- * *Brass.* tempting to upbraid him for setting up late and writing by Candle-light; I know very well, said he, that my Candle troubles you; but wonder not (O ye Men of *Athens*) at the many Robberies which are so frequently committed, since we have *Thieves of Brass, and Walls of Clay*. But concerning these matters, though we have much more of this kind to say, we will here put an end to our Discourse; it being but just and reasonable that we now proceed to take an estimate of his Nature and Manners from his actions, and management of Affairs in the Commonwealth.

His first entring into publick Business was much about the time of the *Phocion War*, as himself affirms, and may be <sup>His first ap-
pearing in
Civil Af-
fairs.</sup> collected from his *Philippick Orations*; For these were made soon after that Action was over, and the first of his Speeches relate to Affairs which hapned very near the same time. The Acculation he had prepared against *Meidias* 'tis manifest was writ by him when he was but Two and Thirty years old, having as yet no interest or reputation in the Commonwealth: And it seems to me that upon this Consideration

only, being afraid to proceed, he let fall his Action and was reconcil'd for a Sum of Money. For of himself

He was no easy or good natur'd Man :

But of a disposition implacable and revengeful : However, finding it an hard matter and above his strength to deal with *Meidius* a Man so well secured on all sides with Money, Eloquence, and Friends, he yielded to the intreaties of those who interceded for him. But had he seen any hopes or possibility of prevailing, I cannot believe that 3000 Drachma's could have taken off the Edge of his Revenge. The cause he undertook in the Commonwealth was fair and just ; the defence of the *Grecians* against *Philip* : in which he behaved himself so worthily, that he soon grew famous and was every where admired for his Eloquence and Courage in speaking : He was adored through all *Greece*, the Great King of *Persia* courted him, and by *Philip* himself he was more esteemed than all the other Orators. His very Enemies were forced to confess that they had to do with a Man of Worth and Honour ; for such a Character even *Æschines* and *Hyperides* have given him, where they accuse and speak against him. So that I cannot imagin

*The Party
of Demo-
sthenes.*

what

what ground *Theopompus* had to say that *Demosthenes* was of a wavering unsettled humour, which could not long continue firm either to the same Men or the same Affairs ; whereas the contrary is most apparent ; for the same party and way Government which he held with from the beginning to those he kept constant to the end ; and was so far from leaving them while he lived, that he chose rather to forsake his life than his Party. He was not heard to Apologize for his shifting of sides like *Demades*, who would say, he often spoke against himself, but never against the City. Nor as *Melanopus*, who being generally against *Callistratus*, but often bribed off with Money, was wont to tell the People, The Man indeed is my Enemy, but we must submit for the good of our Country. Neither as *Nicodemus* the *Messenian*, who having first appear'd on *Cassanders* side, and afterwards took part with *Demetrius*, said, These things were not in themselves contrary, it being always most adviseable to obey the Conqueror. But we have nothing of this kind to say against *Demosthenes*, as one who would turn aside or prevaricate, either in word or deed ; For he still kept one constant Tenor in his actions, as if they had been all govern'd by one unalterable Schem of Policy. And *Panetius* the Philosopher said

*His Con-
stancy.*

said

said that most of his Orations are so written as if they were to prove this one conclusion, That what is honest and virtuous is for it self only to be chosen ; as that of the *Crown*, that against *Aristocrates*, that For the *Immunities*, and the *Philippicks* ; in all which he perswades his Cittizens to pursue not that which seems most pleasant, easie, or profitable ; but declares that in many cases they ought in the first place to prefer that which is just and honourable before their own safety and preservation. So that if he had kept his hands clean from Bribery, if his courage for the Wars had been answerable to the Generosity of his Principles, and the Excellency of his Orations, he might deservedly have his Name placed in the highest Rank with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*, and not in the Number of such Orators as *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus* and *Hyperides*. Therefore amongst those who succeeded him, *Phocion*, though he appeared on that side in the Commonwealth which was not so well esteem'd of, and seem'd to favour the *Macedonians* ; yet for his Valour and Justice he was thought a Person no way inferior to *Ephialtus*, *Aristeides* and *Cimon* : But *Demosthenes* being neither fit to be at all relied on for his Courage in Arms, (as *Demetrius* says) nor on every side well fortified against Bribery, (for how invincible so-

Not free
from
Bribery.

soever he was against the gifts of *Philip* and the *Macedonians*, yet lying open to assaults, and being over-power'd by the Gold which came down from *Susa* & *Ecbatana*) it appeared that he was much better able to recommend than to imitate the Virtues of our Ancestors. And yet (excepting onely *Phocion*) even in his Life and Manners he far surpass'd the other Orators of his time. None of them discour'd to the People with so great freedom and boldness ; He would not spare their faults but oppos'd himself against the unreasonable desires of the Multitude (as may be gathered from his Orations.) And *Theopompus* writes that the *Athenians* having by Name appointed *Demosthenes*, and calling upon him to accuse a certain Person, he refus'd do it : Upon which the Assembly being all in an uproar, he rose up and said, *Your Counsellor whether you will or no (O ye Men of Athens) you shall always have me, but a Sycophant or false Accuser, though you would have me, I shall never be.* His carriage in the Case of *Antipho* was plainly Aristocratical ; whom, after he had been acquitted in the Assembly, he took and brought before the Court of *Areiopagus*, and, setting at naught the displeasure of the People, convicted him of having promised *Philip* to burn the *Arsenall* ; whereupon the Man was

His freedom
of Speech to
the People.

His several
Orations.

was condemned by that Court and suffered for it. He accused also *Theoris* the *Priestess*, amongst many other misdemeanors, for having instructed and taught the Slaves to deceive and cheat their Masters, for which the Sentence of Death pass'd upon her, and she was executed. The Oration which *Apollodorus* made use of, and by it carried the Cause against *Timotheus* the *Prætor*, in an Action of Debt, 'tis said was written for him by *Demosthenes*: As also those others against *Phormio* and *Stephanus*; but this practice of his was thought dishonourable, and justly enough; for the Speech which *Phormio* spake against *Apollodorus* was also of his making; by which means he did as it were furnish two Adversaries out of the same Shop with Weapons to wound one another. Of his Orations which were made in publick to the People, that against *Androtion* and the other against *Timocrates* & *Aristocratus* was written for others, before he dealt himself in Affairs of the Commonwealth; for these it seems were published by him when he was yet but Seven or Eight and Twenty years old. That against *Aristogeiton*, and that for the *Immunities* he spake himself, at the request (as he says) of *Ctesippus* the Son of *Chabrias*, but, as some say, out of Courtship to the young Man's Mother; though he never married her

her: For his Wife was a Woman of *Samos*, as *Demetrius* the *Magnesian* writes in his Book, *de Synonymis*. It is not certain whether his Oration against the *Embassie* of *Æschines* was ever spoken; although *Idomeneus* says that *Æschines* wanted onely Thirty Voices to acquit him; but this seems not to be true, at least so far as may be conjectured from both their Orations writ concerning the *Crown*: For neither of them hath mention'd any thing clearly or directly of it, as a Cause that ever came to Trial. But let others decide this Controversie.

Now it was evident even in times of Peace what course *Demosthenes* would steer in the Commonwealth: For whatever was done by the *Macedonian* he could not forbear finding fault with it; but upon all occasions was stirring up the People of *Athens*, and inflaming them against him, Therefore in the Court of *Philip*, no Man was so much talk'd of, or of so great account as he: And when he came thither one of the Ten *Embassadors*, who were sent into *Macedonia*, though all had Audience given them, yet his Speech was answered with most care and exactness: But in other respects *Philip* entertain'd him not so honourably as the rest, neither did he shew him the same kindness and civility with which he applied himself to the party of *Æschines* and *Philocrates*:

Demosthenes against Philip.

Isocrates : So that when the others commended *Philip* as an able Speaker, a beautiful Person, nay, and as a good Companion that could drink stoutly ; *Demosthenes* could not contain himself from Railery and Scoffing at the Praises they gave him : The first, he said was a quality which might well enough become a Rhetorician, the second a Woman, and the last was onely the property of a Sponge ; but none of them any way futable to the Character or Commendation of a Prince. When things look'd towards a War, (*Philip* on the one side being not able to live in peace, and the *Athenians* on the other side being stirr'd up by *Demosthenes*) the first Action he put them upon was the reducing of *Eubæa*, which by the Treachery of the Governors was brought under subjection to *Philip*. To this purpose, he having procured a Decree, they cross'd over thither and chased the *Macedonians* out of the Island. The next was the Relief of the *Byzantines* and *Perinthians* with whom the *Macedonians* at that time made War. He perswaded the People to lay aside their enmity against those Nations, to forget the offences committed by them in the Wars with their Confederates, and to send them such Succours as saved and secured them. Not long after he undertook an Embassy to the *Grecians*

cians, whom he solicited and so far incens'd against *Philip* that (a few only excepted) he wrought them all into a general insurrection: so that besides the Forces to be rais'd by the Cities, there was an Army consisting of 15000 Foot and 2000 Horse, and the Money to pay these Strangers was levied and brought in with great chearfulness: but when the Allies desired that their contributions for the War might be ascertain'd and stated, *Crobylus* the Orator (as *Theophrastus* says) told them plainly, *That War could not be kept to any set diet.* Now was all Greece up in Arms and in great expectation what would be the event of these things. The *Eubæans*, the *Achaïans*, the *Corinthians*, the *Magarians*, the *Leucadians*, and *Corcyraeans*, their People and their Cities were all joyn'd together in a League: But the hardest task was yet behind left for *Demosthenes*, to draw the *Thebans* into this Confederacy with the rest. Their Country border'd next upon *Attica*, they had great Forces for the War, and at that time they were accounted the best Souldiers of all Greece, but it was no easie matter to make them break with *Philip*, who by many good Offices had so lately oblig'd them in the *Phocian* War: especially considering the quarrels and disputes between these two Cities occasion'd from the

Demosthenes solicites and prevails with the Thebans.

near-

nearness of their Frontiers, and by frequent light skirmishes on both sides daily renewed and exasperated. But after *Philip*, being now grown high and puffed up with his good success at *Amphissa*, had on a sudden surprized *Elatæa*, and possessed himself of *Phocis*, the *Athenians* were under a great consternation, none durst venture up into the Pulpit, or knew what to say, all were at a loss, and the whole Assembly in deep silence and great perplexity. In this extremity of affairs, *Demosthenes* was the only man who appear'd, advising to apply themselves to the *Thebans*; and having otherways encouraged the people, and (as his manner was) raised their spirits up with hopes, he with some others, was sent Ambassador to *Thebes*. To oppose him (as *Marfias* says) *Philip* also sent thither his Ambassadors, *Amyntas* and *Clearchus* two *Macedonians*, besides *Daochus*, *Thestulus*, and *Thrasydæus*. Now upon consultation the *Thebans* were well enough aware what suited best with their own interest; but every one had before his Eyes the dreadful Calamities of War, and the wounds they lately received at *Phocis* were remaining yet green and fresh upon them. But such was the force and power of our Orator (as *Theopompus* tell us) that enkindling their minds and inflaming them with a desire of Glory, he took away their

their sight, and cast a mist before all other considerations: so that without farther deliberation, or any regard had to the obligations which lay upon them, they cast away all fear, like men possess'd, and by his Eloquence inspired with worthy and honorable resolutions. This so famous an enterprize accomplished by an Orator, was thought to be of such great consequence, ^{The Credit of Demosthenes, before the Battle.} that *Philip* immediately sent Heralds to treat and desire a Peace. All *Greece* was unanimously up in arms. The Commanders in chief, not only of *Attica*, but of *Bæotia*, applied themselves to *Demosthenes*, and observ'd his directions: He managed all the Assemblies as well those of the *Thebans*, as those of the *Athenians*: He was beloved both by the one and by the other, and had the same Authority with both. Neither was all this respect shewed him without good cause; for (as *Theopompus* has declar'd) it was no more then was decent and due to his merit. But there was, it should seem, some fatal destiny in the revolution of these Affairs, which, having determin'd to put a period at this time to the Liberty of *Greece*, oppos'd and thwarted all their actions; and by many signs foretold what should happen. Such were the dreadful Predictions uttered by the *Pythian* Priests, and this Old Oracle cited out of the Sibylls——

*The Battle fought at Thermodon, let me
An Eagle in the Air at distance see; (he
Where they that vanquish'd are shall mourn; and
Who Conquers scarce survive his Victory.*

Thermo-
don.

This *Thermodon*, they say, was a little River with us in *Ckeronea*, which emptied it self into *Cephissus*: But we know none of that name at this time, onely we conjecture that which is now call'd *Hæmon*, and runs by the Temple of *Hercules*, where the *Græcians* were incamped, might perhaps in those dayes be called *Thermodon*, and after the fight, being filled with Blood and dead Bodies, upon this occasion (as we guess) might change its old name for that which it now bears. Yet *Duris* says, that this *Thermodon* was no River, but that some of the Souldiers, as they were pitching their Tents and diging Trenches about them, found a small Marble Statue, which, by the Inscription, appear'd to be the Figure of *Thermodon*, carrying a wounded *Amazon* in his arms. Concerning this Battle there was also another Oracle alleged.

(don.

*Stay Ravens and expect the Fight at Thermo-
There will be Carkasses good store to feed upon.*

In fine, it is not easie to determine what
there

there is of Truth in these reports. But of *Demosthenes* 'tis said that he had so great confidence in the *Græcian* forces, and seeing the courage and resolution of so many brave Men ready to engage the Enemy, grew so high and lofty, that he would by no means indure they should give any heed to Oracles, or hearken to Prophecies, but gave out that he suspected even the Prophetess herself, as if she had been tamper'd with to speak in favour of *Philip*. The *Thebans* he put in mind of *Epaminondas*, the *Athenians* of *Pericles*, who always took their own measures and govern'd their Actions by Reason, looking upon such Fopperies as a pretence onely for cowardise. Thus far therefore *Demosthenes* acquitted himself like a Man of Honour. But in the Fight when it came to blows he did nothing honourable, nor were his performances any way answerable to his speeches. For deserting his Post, and throwing down his Arms he run away most shamefully, not at all concern'd (as 'tis well said by *Pytheas*) for the Inscription which was written on his Shield in Letters of Gold, *With good Fortune*.

His cowardise in the Fight.

In the mean time *Philip*, soon after the Victory was so transported with joy, that having drank to excess, he grew extravagant, and insulted over the dead, so that

Philips carriage after the Victory.

stamping, and dancing, and raising his Voice to the measures of his feet, he sung the first words of *Demosthenes* his Decree.

Thus spoke Demosthenes the Son of Demosthenes of the Paeanian Tribe.

But when he came to himself and had well considered the dangerous circumstances he was lately under, he was struck with horror, reflecting upon the strength and mighty power of such an Orator who had enforced him, within the compass of a few hours, to run the hazard both of his Life and Empire. His Fame also reached even to the Court of *Persia*, and the King sent Letters to his Lieutenants, commanding them to feed *Demosthenes* with Money, and to make their chief application to him, as the only Man of all the *Græcians* who was best able to give *Philip* a diversion, and to imploy his Forces nearer home in the troubles of *Greece*. This afterwards came to the knowledge of *Alexander* by certain Letters of *Demosthenes* which he found at *Sardis*, and by other Papers of the *Persian* Officers expressing the vast Sums which had been given him.

Demo-
sthenes ac-
cused and
acquitted.

At this time upon the ill success which now happen'd to the *Græcians*, those of the contrary Faction in the Common-wealth fall foul upon *Demosthenes*, who took this opportunity

portunity to frame several Informations and Indictments against him. But the People not only acquitted him of these Accusations, but continued towards him their former respects, and as a Man that meant well, they restor'd him to the management of their publick Affairs: Inasmuch that when the Bones of those who had been slain at *Cheronea* were brought home to be solemnly interr'd: *Demosthenes* was the Man they pitched on to make the Funeral Oration. The misfortunes which befel them they did not bear with a base, low, or ignoble mind, but (as *Theopompus* writes in his Tragedies) by the Honour and Respects shewn to their Counsellor, they made it appear that they were no way dissatisfied with the Counsels he had given them. The speech therefore was spoken by *Demosthenes*: But his decrees he would not have pass'd in his own name, but made use of his Friends one after another; for he look'd upon his own Genius as unfortunate and inauspicious; till at length he took courage again after the death of *Philip* who did not long out live his Victory at *Cheronea*. And this it seems was that which was foretold in the last Verse of the C-racle.

The Vanquish'd there shall weep, the Conqueror dy.

The behaviour of Demosthenes, and the Grecians upon the death of Philip.

Demosthenes had secret Intelligence of the death of *Philip*; and laying hold of this opportunity to prepossess the People with courage and better hopes for the future; he came into the Assembly with a cheerful countenance, pretending to have seen a Vision from whence the *Athenians* were to expect some great matters; and not long after arriv'd the Messengers, who brought the news of *Philip's* death: No sooner had the People received it, but immediately they offer'd Sacrifice to the Gods, and decreed that *Pausanias* should be crown'd: Demosthenes appear'd publickly in a rich habit with a Chaplet on his Head, though it were but the Seventh Day since the death of his Daughter (as 'tis said by *Æschines*) who upbraids him upon this account, and rails at him as one void of natural affection towards his Children; whereas indeed he has by this means rather betray'd himself to be of a poor low spirit, and effeminate mind, while he seems to make immoderate grief and lamentation, the only signs of a gentle and compassionate Nature, and to condemn those who bear such accidents with more temper and less passion. For my own part

as I cannot say that the Behaviour of the *Athenians* on this occasion was any way decent or honourable, to crown themselves with Garlands, to Sacrifice to the Gods, and all for the death of a Prince, who in the midst of his Success and Victories, when they were a conquered Nation, had used them with so much Clemency and Humanity; (for it was a practice both unworthy and base to make him free of their City, and to honour him while he lived; and yet as soon as he fell by another's hand to set no bounds to their jollity, to insult over him dead, and to sing triumphant Songs of Victory, as if by their own Valour they had vanquish'd him.) So I must needs commend the carriage of Demosthenes; who leaving vain Tears and Lamentations to the Women: made it his Business to do that which he thought most profitable for the Commonwealth. And I think it the duty of him, who would be accounted to have a Soul truly Valiant and fit for Government, that, standing always firm to the common good, and neglecting his own private calamities and affairs, when they come into competition with the Publick, he should maintain the dignity of his Character and Station, much more than it is of good Actors who represent the Persons of Kings and Tyrants; and yet these, we see, when they

they either laugh, or weep on the Stage does not follow their own inclinations, but observe that *Decorum* in their Actions which the Subject requires. Moreover if we ought not to leave the unfortunate, forlorn, and comfortless, o'rewhelm'd with sorrow, but to use some such speeches as many alleviate their afflictions and divert their minds with more pleasing objects. (as we use to advise those who are troubled with sore Eyes to withdraw their sight from bright and offensive colours to Green, and those of a softer mixture.) from whence can a Man furnish himself with better arguments of consolation, for the afflictions of his Family, then by endeavouring to attemper and allay his own private misfortunes with the good success and recovery of his Country out of publick calamities? That so the better Fortune of the one, may in some measure obscure and conceal the ill circumstances of the other.

I have been the larger in this Digression, because I observe in a Speech of *Æschines* upon this subject, that he endeavours to move, and soften the Minds of the People with Womanish pitty and commiseration.

But now to return to my Narrative. The Cities of *Greece*, by the instigation of *Demosthenes* once more conspired together to make

make another Insurrection. The *Thebans*, whom he had provided with Arms, set upon their Garrison, and slew many of them; the *Athenians* made preparations to join their Forces with them; *Demosthenes* bestir'd himself in the Pulpit, and writ Letters to the *Persian* Officers, who commanded under the King in *Asia*, inciting them to make War from thence upon the *Macedonian*; calling him *Child* and *Changling*: But, as soon as *Alexander* had settled affairs in his own Country, and came himself in person with his Army into *Bæotia*, down fell the courage of the *Athenians*, and *Demosthenes* grew cold. So that the poor *Thebans* being thus deserted and betrayed by them, were forced to give him battle alone, and by this means lost their City. Hereupon the people of *Athens* were all in an uproar, and in great perplexity resolved to send Ambassadors to *Alexander*; Amongst others they made choice of *Demosthenes* for one; but his heart failing him for fear of the Kings anger he returned back from *Cithæron* and left the Embassie. In the mean time *Alexander* sent to *Athens* requiring ten of their Orators to be delivered up to him, as *Idomeneus* and *Thuris* have reported; but, as the most and best Historians say, he demanded these eight only, *Demosthenes*, *Polyæctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Callisthenes*, and *Charidemus*. It was upon

Another
Insurrection
against A-
lexander.

upon this occasion, that *Demosthenes* related to them the Fable wherein the Sheep are said to deliver up their Dogs to the Wolves. Himself and those that were with him contending for the safety of the People, he compar'd to the Dogs that defended the Flock: but *Alexander*, he call'd the only Woolf. And withal, he farther told them, that as we see Corn-Masters sell their whole Stock by a few Grains of Wheat which they carry about with them in a Dish as a small sample of the rest; so you by delivering up us who are but a few, do at the same time unawares surrender up your selves altogether with us. These things we find thus related in the History of *Aristobulus* the *Cassandrian*.

The Embassie of Demades to Alexander.

The *Athenians* were now deliberating and at a loss what to do, when *Demades*, having agreed with the persons whom *Alexander* had demanded for five Talents, undertook to go Ambassador and to intercede with the King for them: and, whether it was that he relied on his friendship and kindness, or that he hoped to find him satiated, as a Lion glutted with slaughter, he prevailed with him both to pardon the men and to be reconcil'd to their City. Upon the departure of *Alexander*, the faction of *Demades* grew great in power and authority, but *Demosthenes* was quite under hatches. Yet when

when *Agis* the *Spartan* made his insurrection, he also for a short time attempted to raise some commotions in *Attica*; but he soon shrunk back again, seeing the *Athenians* would not rise with him, and that *Agis* being slain, the *Lacedemonians* were vanquished.

At this time it was that the Indictment against *Ctesiphon* concerning the Crown was brought to Trial. The Action was commenced a little before the Battle in *Chæronea* when *Charondas* was *Archon*, but it came not to sentence till about ten years after, *Aristophan* being then *Archon*. Never was any publick cause more celebrated then this, both for the fame of the Orators and for the generous courage of the Judges, who, though at that time the accusers of *Demosthenes* were men of the greatest power, and supported by the favour of the *Macedonians*, yet would not give judgment against him, but acquitted him so honourably that *Æschines* had scarce the fifth part of their suffrages on his side; so that immediately he left the City, and spent the rest of his life in teaching Rhetoric about the Island of *Rhodes*, and upon the Continent in *Ionian*.

It was not long after that *Harpalus* fled from *Alexander*, and came to *Athens* out of *Asia*. He was conscious to himself of many lewd practices occasion'd by his luxury, and fear'd the

The Action against Ctesiphon concerning the Crown.

Harpalus comes to Athens.

*He corrupts
the Orators.*

*And De-
mosthenes.*

the King who was now grown terrible even to his best friends. Yet this man had no sooner address'd himself to the people, and deliver'd up his Goods, his Ships, and himself to their disposal, but the other Orators of the Town had their Eyes quickly fix'd upon his money, and came in to his assistance, persuading the *Athenians* to receive and protect their Suppliant. But *Demosthenes* at first gave advice to chase him out of the Country, and to beware lest they involved their City in a War upon this so unnecessary and unjust an occasion. Yet some few days after, as they were taking an account of the Treasure, *Harpalus* perceiving how much he was pleas'd with the Kings Cup, and how curiously he survey'd the sculpture and fashion of it, he desired him to poize it in his hand and consider the weight of the Gold. *Demosthenes* being amazed to feel how heavy it was, ask'd him what price it would come for; to you, Sir, said *Harpalus* with a smiling countenance, it shall come with twenty Talents. And presently after when night drew on he sent him the Cup with so many Talents. This *Harpalus* it seems was a person of good skill to discern a mans covetousness by the air of his countenance and from the pleasant cast of his eyes to discover his nature. For *Demosthenes* could not resist the temptation, but receiving the Present like a

Gat

Garrison into his house, he was overcome and wholly surrendred himself up to the interest of *Harpalus*. The next day he came into the Assembly with his Neck well swath'd about with Wool and Rollers, and when they call'd upon him to rise up and speak, he made signs as if he had lost his voice. But the Wits turning the matter to ridicule said that certainly *the Orator had been seiz'd that night with no other then a Silver Squinzy*. And soon after the People being sensible of the Bribery, grew angry and would not suffer him to speak or make any Apology for himself, but run him down with noise. Whereupon a certain Droll stood up, saying, O ye men of Athens, what? Will you not bear the Kings Cup-Bearer? So at length they banish'd *Harpalus* out of the City; and fearing least they should be call'd to account for the Treasure which the Orators had purloin'd, they made a strict inquiry going from house to house: only *Calicles* the Son of *Arrenidas* who was newly married they would not suffer to be search'd, out of respect, as *Theopompus* Writes, to the Bride who was within. But *Demosthenes* oppos'd the Inquisition, and prefer'd a Decree to refer *Demosthenes found* the business to the Court of *Areiopagus* and *guilty of* to punish those whom they should find *bribery fined* guilty. But he himself being one of the *and imprisoned.* first whom the Court condemn'd, when
he

*His escape
out of Pri-
son.*

he came to the Bar, was fined fifty Talents and committed to Prison: where out of shame of the crime for which he was condemned, and thorough the weakness of his body growing soon impatient and weary of his confinement, without the privity of some, and by the connivance of others of his keepers, he made his escape.

He had not fled far from the City, when finding that he was pursued by some of those Citizens who had been his Adversaries, he indeavoured to hide himself. But when they call'd him by his Name, and coming up nearer to him desired he would accept from them some Money, which they had brought from home, as a small Provision for his journey, and to that purpose only had followed him; when they intreated him to take Courage and without passion to bear up against his misfortune; he burst out into much greater Lamentation, saying.

*The Behavi-
our of De-
mosthenes
in his Exile*

But how is it possible to support my self under so heavy an affliction, since I leave a City in which I have found such Enemies, as in any other it is not easie to meet with friends so generous and kind. The truth is he bore his banishment after an unmanly fashion, settling for the most part in *Egina* and *Træzene*, and with tears in his Eyes, looking towards the Country of *Attica*. In so much that there remain upon record

some

some sayings of his, no way suitable to that generosity and bravery, with which he used to express himself, when he had the management of the Common-Wealth. For as he was departing out of the City, it is reported, that he lifted up his hands towards the *Acropolis*, and said, *O Lady Minerva, how is it that thou takest delight in three such fierce untractable Beasts, the Owl, the Dragon, and the People?* The youngmen that came to visit and converse with him, he deterr'd from meddling with State affairs, Telling them, that if at first two ways had been proposed to him, the one leading to the Pulpit and the Assembly, the other directly tending to Destruction, and he could have foreseen the many Evils which attend those, who deal in publick business, such as Fears, Envies, Calumnies and Contentions, he would certainly have taken that which led straight on to his Death.

But now hapned the Death of *Alexander* while *Demosthenes* was in this kind of Banishment which we have been speaking of. And the *Græcians* were once again up in Arms encouraged by the brave attempts of *Leosthenes*, who was then drawing a circumvallation about *Antipater*, whom he held close besieged in *Lamia*. *Pytheas* therefore the Orator, and *Callmedon* of *Carabia*, fled from *Athens*, and joyning them.

themselves with *Antipater*, they went about with his friends and Embassadors to keep the *Græcians*, from revolting and taking part with the *Athenians*. But on the other side, *Demosthenes* associating himself with the Ambassadors that came from *Athens*, us'd his utmost endeavours, and gave them his best assistance in perswading the Cities to fall unanimously upon the *Macedonians*, and to drive them out of *Greece*. *Philarchus* says, that in *Arcadia* there hapned such a encounter between *Pytheas* and *Demosthenes* as came at last to down right railing, while the one pleaded for the *Macedonians*, and the other for the *Græcians*. *Pytheas* is reported to have said; that as we always suppose there is some Disease in the Family to which they bring Asses Milk; so wherever there comes an Embassie from *Athens*, that City must needs be indisposed. But *Demosthenes* presently answered him retorting the Comparison; Asses Milk is brought to restore us our health, and the *Athenians* come for the safety and recovery of the Sick. With these passages the people of *Athens* were so well pleased that they decreed the recalling of *Demosthenes* from banishment. The decree was brought in by *Damon* the *Pæanean*, Nephew to *Demosthenes*. So they sent him a Ship to *Ægina*, and he landed at the Haven of *Piræus*, where

His content-
ion with
Pytheas.

His return
from Exile.

where he was met and joyfully received by all the Citizens, not so much as the *Archon*, or the Priest staying behind. And *Demetrius* the *Magnesian* says, that he lifted up his hands towards Heaven, and blessed this day of his happy Return as far more honorable then that of *Alcibiades*; since he was recall'd by his Countrymen, not through any force or constraint put upon them, but by their own good will and free inclinations. There remain'd only his pecuniary Fine, which according to Law could not be remitted by the people. But they found out a way to elude the Law. It was a Custom with them to allow a certain quantity of Silver to those who were to furnish and adorn the Altar for the Sacrifice of *Jupiter Soter*. This Office for that turn they bestow'd on *Demosthenes*, and for the performance of it ordered him fifty Talents, the very sum in which he was condemned. Yet it was no long time that he enjoy'd his Country after his return, the attempts of the *Græcians* being soon all utterly defeated. For the Battle at *Cranon* hapned in *March*, in *July* the Garrison entred into *Munychia*, and in *October* following died *Demosthenes* after this manner.

His fine re-
mited.

Upon the report that *Antipater* and *Cra-* *The relation*
terus were coming to *Athens*, *Demosthenes* *of his death.*
with his party, took their opportunity to e-
scape

Archias
 Αρχίας.
 Δίεγας.

Demo-
 sthenes sei-
 zed by him.

scape privily out of the City ; but at the instance of *Demades* they were condemned by the people. They dispersed themselves flying some to one place, some to another. And *Antipater* sent about his Souldiers into all partes to apprehend them. *Archias* was their Captain, and was thence called Αρχίας-Δίεγας, or the exile Hunter. He was a *Thurian* born, and is reported to have been an Actor of Tragedies : and they say that *Polus* of *Ægina*, the best Actor of his time, was his Scholar : but *Hermippus* reckons *Archias* among the Disciples of *Lacritus* the Orator : and *Demetrius*, says he, spent some time with *Anaximenes*. This *Archias* finding *Hyperides* the Orator, *Aristonicus* of *Marathon*, and *Himeræus* the Brother of *Demetrius* the *Phalerean* at *Ægina*, he took them by force out of the Temple of *Ajax*, whether they were fled for safety, and sent them to *Antipater* then at *Cleonæ*, where they were all put to death ; And *Hyperides* (as they say) had his Tongue cut out. *Demosthenes*, he heard had taken Sanctuary at the Temple of *Neptune* in *Calabria*, and crossing over thither in some light Vessels, as soon as he had landed himself, and the *Thracian* Spear-men that came with him ; he endeavoured to perswade *Demosthenes* that he would accompany him to *Antipater*, as if he should meet with no hard usage from

Demo-
 sthenes his
 Dream.

from him. But, *Demosthenes* in his sleep, the Night before had an odd unusual Dream : It seem'd to him that he was acting a Tragedy, and contended with *Archias* for the Victory ; and though he acquitted himself well, and gave good satisfaction to the Spectators, yet for want of better Furniture and Provision for the Stage, he lost the Day. Wherefore as *Archias* was discoursing to him with many expressions of kindness, he sat still in the same posture, and looking up stedfastly upon him, O *Archias* (said he) I was never much taken with your Action heretofore, and now I am as little moved by your Promises. *Archias* at this beginning to grow angry and to threaten him ; Now, said *Demosthenes*, thou speak'st like the Oracle of *Macedon* ; before thou didst but Act a Part. Therefore forbear onely a little ; while I write a word or two home to my Family. Having thus spoken, he withdrew himself farther into the Temple, and taking some Paper as if he meant to write, he put the Quill into his Mouth, and biting it, as he was wont to do when he was thoughtful or writing, he held it there for sometime. Then he bowed down his Head and covered it. The Souldiers that stood at the Door supposing all this to proceed from want of Courage and fear of Death, in derision called him effeminate, faint-hearted, Coward. And *Archias*

He takes
 Poison.

drawing near desired him to rise up, and repeating the same kind things he had spoken before, he once more promised him to make his peace with *Antipater*. But *Demosthenes*, perceiving that now the Poyson had pierc'd and seized his Vitals, uncovered his Head, and fixing his Eyes upon *Archias*. Now, said he, as soon as you please you may all the part of *Creon* in the Tragedy, and cast out this body of mine unburied: But, O gracious Neptune, I, for my own part, while I am yet alive, arise up and depart out of this Sacred place; but *Antipater* and the Macedonians have not left so much as thy Temple unpolluted. After he had thus spoken and desired to be held up, because already he began to tremble and stagger, as he was going forward, and passing by the Altar, he fell down, and with a groan gave up the ghost.

Various reports concerning his Death.

Aristo saith, that he took the Poyson out of a Quill as we have shewn before. But *Pappus* a certain Historian (whose History was recovered by *Hermippus*) says, that as he fell near the Altar, there was found in his Paper this beginning onely of a Letter and nothing more, *Demosthenes* to *Antipater*. The suddenness of his Death was much wondred at, and the *Thracians* who guarded the Doors, reported that he took the Poyson into his Hand out of a Rag, and put

put it in his Mouth, and that they imagined it had been Gold which he swallowed. But the Maid that serv'd him, being examined by the followers of *Archias*, affirm'd that he had worn it in a Bracelet for a long time as an Amulet. And *Eratosthenes* himself says, that he kept the Poyson in an hollow Ring, and that Ring was the Bracelet which he wore about his Arm. Many and various are the reports of those who have writ concerning this matter, which it is no way needful to recount: Yet I must not omit what is said by *Domocharis* a familiar intimate acquaintance of *Demosthenes*, who is of opinion it was not by the help of Poyson that he met with so sudden and so easie a death; but that by the singular favour and providence of the Gods he was thus rescued from the barbarous cruelty of the Macedonians. He died the Sixteenth of October, a day the most sad and solemn of all the year, on which the Women celebrate the *Theismophoria* of *Ceres*, and fast all day in the Temple of that Goddess.

Soon after his death the People of *Athens* bestowed on him such honours as he had deserved. They erected his Statue of Brass; they decreed that the Eldest of his Family should be maintain'd in the *Prytaneum*: and on the Base of his Statue was ingraven this famous Inscription:

Honours bestowed on him after his death.

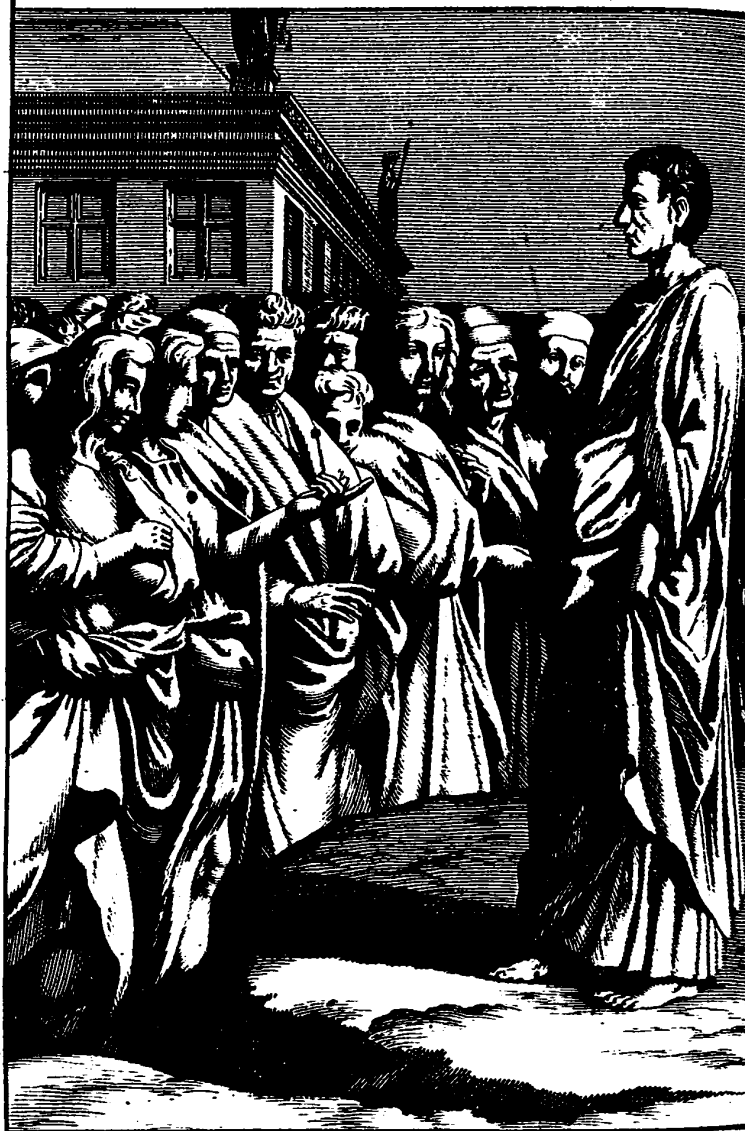
*If with the Wisdom of thy Mind,
An equal Courage had been joyn'd :
Greece ne're had suffered so great harms;
Enslav'd by Macedonians Arms.*

For it is very ridiculous, which by some Men is reported, that *Demosthenes* should make these Verses himself in *Calabria*, as he was about to take the Poyson.

A little before we came to *Athens*, 'tis said, there hapned such an accident as this. A Souldier being summon'd to appear before his superior Officer, and to answer an Accusation brought against him, put that little Gold which he had, into the hands of *Demosthenes* his Statue: The Fingers of this Statue were folded one within another, and near it grew a small plane Tree; from which many leaves (either accidentally blown thither by the Wind, or placed so on purpose by the Man himself) falling together and lying round about the Gold, concealed it for a long time. At length the Souldier return'd and finding his Treasure entire; the fame of this accident was spread abroad: And many of the Wits upon this occasion strove to vindicate *Demosthenes* from corruption, in several Epigrams which they made on the same subject.

As for *Demades*, he did not long enjoy the new Honours he had lately gotten; Divine Vengeance for the death of *Demosthenes* pursuing him into *Macedonia*; where he was justly put to death by those whom he had basely flattered. They were weary of him; before, but at this time the guilt he lay under was manifest and unavoidable. For some of his Letters were intercepted, in which he had encouraged *Perdiccas* to fall upon *Macedonia*, and to save the *Gracians*; who, he said, hung onely by an old rotten Thred, (meaning *Antipater*). Of this he was accused by *Dinarchus* the *Co-*^{The Death of De-}
rinthian, and *Cassander* was so intraged that mades. he first slew his Son in his bosom, and then gave order for his execution; who by woful experience and his own most sad misfortunes was at length convinc'd; *That Traitors, who make sale of their Country, sell themselves first*: A truth which *Demosthenes*, had often foretold him, and he would never believe. Thus, *Sossius*, you have the Life of *Demosthenes* from such passages as we have either read or heard concerning him.

M. TVLLIVS CICERO.



N. Buryghers sculp.

(297)

THE
LIFE
OF
MARCUS TULLIUS
CICERO:

Translated from the Greek, By

SAMUEL FULLER, D. D.

It is generally said that *Helvia* the Mother of *Cicero*, was both well born, and lived in good Fashion, but of his Father nothing is reported, but in extreams. For whilst some would have him the Son of a Fuller, and educated in that Trade, others reduce the original of his Family to † *In Græco* *Tullius Attius* an illustrious King of the *Τούλλιον* *Αππιον.*

sed legendum: *Τούλλιον Αππιον.* Regem *Volsorum* ad quem exul *Coriolanus* confugit. Vid. Li. lib. 2. vit. *Coriol.* in Aut. nest.

Volsci.

Volsci: Howsoever he, who first of that House was surnamed *Cicero*, seems to have been a Person worthy to be remembered; because those who succeeded him did not only not reject, but were fond of that name, tho' vulgarly made a matter of reproach. For the *Latins* call a Vetch *Cicer*, and a flat excrescence in the resemblance of a Vetch on the tip of his Nose, gave him the surname of *Cicero*.

But this *Cicero*, whose story I am writing, is said to have briskly reply'd to some of his Friends, judging it fit to lay aside or change that Name, when he first stood for publick Office, and engaged in Affairs of State, that he would make it his utmost endeavour to render the Name of *Cicero* more glorious than that of the *Scauri* and *Catuli*; and therefore, when being *Questor* of *Sicily*, he had made an Oblation of Silver Plate to the Gods; and had inscribed thereon the Initial Letters of his two names *Marcus* and *Tullius*, instead of the Third he merrily commanded the Artificer to engrave the Figure of a *Vetch* by them: These things are related of his Name.

Of *Cicero's* Birth it is reported that his Mother was delivered without pain or labour on † the Third of the Nones of *Janu-*

† Ter. Non.
Jan. Cice-
ronis nati-
lis. sed Pridie. Non. Jan. votum pro salute principis, vid. *Cal. Rom.*

ary, that Day on which now the Magistrates of *Rome*, Pray and Sacrifice for the Emperour: it is said also that a Spectre appear'd to his Nurse, and foretold the Child she then suckled should afterwards become a great Benefit to the *Roman* State, which things would otherwise have appear'd dreams and trifles, had not himself soon demonstrated the truth of the Prediction, for when he came to the age of going to School, he was of such eminent Pregnancy; and had such Fame and Glory amongst the Boys, that their Fathers would often visit the School, that they themselves might behold that *Cicero*, and as Eye Witnesses report his quickness and aptness in Learning so much celebrated; but the ruder sort of them were angry with their Children, to see them as they walked together receiving *Cicero* with respect into the middle place.

Now he being, as *Plato* would have the Scholer-like and Philosophical Temper to be, disposed to all manner of Learning, and neglectful of no Art or Science, had a more peculiar propensity to Poetry, and there is a Poem now extant, made by him when a Boy, in *Tetrameter Verse*, call'd * *Pontius Glaucus*.

Geor. 3. Ver. 267.

Quo Tempore Glauci
Potuiades malis membra absumpsere quadrigis.

* Fortè.
Potnius
Vid. Virg.

In progress of time, applying himself more generally to those Studies, he became not only an excellent Orator, but also one of the most eminent amongst the Roman Poets; and the Glory of his *Rhetoric* still remains, notwithstanding the many new Modes in Speaking since his time, but his Poetry is become wholly obsolete, and without Fame, by reason of those many witty Poets which have since succeeded and surpassed him.

Leaving his Juvenile studies he became an Auditor of *Philo* the Academic, whom the Romans, above all the other Scholars of *Clitoma-*

chus, admired for his Eloquence and lov'd for his pleasant Conversation: He also appli'd himself to *Mutius Scevola* an eminent Statesman, and as they term'd it,

* Prince of the Senate, of

whom he acquir'd knowledge of the Laws.

For some time he served in Arms under *Sylla* in the *Marfan* War, but perceiving the Commonwealth running into Factions, and from Faction all things tending to an absolute Monarchy, he again betook himself to his retired and contemplative Life, and conversing with the learned Greeks wholly apply'd to his Study, till *Sylla* had obtain'd the Government, and the Commonwealth

* Πρωτος : τῆς βουλῆς, Princ. Senat. Princeps Senatus dictus fuit is qui in lectione Senatus quæ per Censores peracto censu fiebat primo loco recitabatur, Agell. l. 3. c. 3.

monwealth was in some kind of settlement.

About this time, *Chrysogonus*, *Sylla's* emancipated Slave, being informed by some body, of an Estate belonging to one who was said to be put to death by proscription; had bought it himself for two thousand Drachma's, of which when *Roscius* the Son and Heir of the dead complained, and demonstrated the Estate to be worth † two hundred and fifty Talents, *Sylla* took it so heinously to have his Actions question'd, that he preferr'd a Process against *Roscius* for the murder of his Father, *Chrysogonus* managing the evidence: None of the Advocates durst assist him, but fearing the cruelty of *Sylla*, avoided the Cause.

† It is very difficult to defend our Author in all places where he expresses the value of the Roman by the Attick Money, but in this place

Rualdus has defended him against *Scaliger*, altho he finds fault with some mistakes of that kind in other parts of this Life, and therefore we will take it for granted that Cicero's Duobus millibus nummum exactly answers *Plutarch's* διχαλίων δραχμῶν and his sexagies πεντήκοντα ὀδρακτίων ταλάντων and to understand the great disproportion, betwixt *Chrysogonus* price and *Roscius's* value of his Father's goods. We suppose that Nummus signifies Denarius and not Sestertius. That the Roman Denarius and the Attic Drachma were of the same value, and they are generally computed to 7 obq. of our money, tho some pretend to greater exactness make the Attic Drachma 8 d. q. That the Attic Mina was of the same value with the Roman Libra. That every Mina contain'd one hundred Drachma's. Every Attic Talent, Sixty Mina's, and six thousand Drachma's: Which makes a great disproportion, and gives a just Cause for *Roscius's* complaint, and yet the disproportion would be still greater if Nummus signified, as *Scaliger* contends, Sestertius which was but the fourth part of a Denarius or Drachma. Vide *Manucium* in Tull. Orat. pro Roscio Am. ar. & *Ruald.* notas prefixas & *Xylandri* affixas *Plutarch.* in Ed. Paris.

The young man being thus deserted, fled for refuge to *Cicero*: His Friends encouraged him, as never being like again to have a fairer and more honourable introduction to Glory, he therefore undertakes the defence, carries the Cause and was admired for it.

But fearing *Sylla*, he travelled into *Greece*, and gives it out that he did it in order to his health; And indeed he was so lean and meagre, and had such a weakness in his stomach, that he could take down nothing but a spare and thin Diet, and that not till late in the Evening: His voice was loud and good, but so harsh and unmanaged, that in vehemence and heat of speaking, he always raised it to so high a tone, that there was reason to fear the endangering of his Body by it.

When he came to *Athens*, he was an Auditor of *Antiochus* the *Ascalonite*, being taken with the volubility and elegance of his speech, altho' he did not approve the Novelty of his opinions: For *Antiochus* had now fallen off from the new Academy, as they call it, and forsaken the Sect of *C Carneades*, either moved by clear conviction and the evidence of sense, or, as some say, through ambition and opposition to the followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, and had changed his opinion, in most things, embracing

bracing the Doctrine of the *Stoics*. But *Cicero* rather affected and adher'd to these Doctrines of the new Academy; resolving with himself if he could get no publick employment in the Common-Wealth to retire thither from pleading and political affairs, and to pass his life with quiet in the study of Philosophy.

But after he had receiv'd the news of *Sylla's* death, and his body, again strengthened by exercise; was come to a vigorous habit, his voice managed and render'd sweet and full to the Ear, and pretty well fitted to the disposition of his Body, his Friends at *Rome*, earnestly soliciting him by Letters, and *Antiochus* as much perswading him to return to publick Affairs, he again furbish'd up his Rhetorick, as the proper instrument of a Statesman, and reexcited his political faculty, both diligently exercising himself in declamations, and applying to the celebrated Orators of that time.

From thence he took shipping for *Asia* and *Rhodes*; amongst the *Asian* Rhetoricians he conversed with *Xenocles* of *Adratmyttus*, *Dionisus* of *Magnesia*, and *Menippus* of *Caria*; at *Rhodes* for an Orator with * *Apollonius* † *Athens*.
* The translator renders according to the import of the Greek, though it is evident Plutarch was mistaken both in this and *Cæsar's* Life, making two men of one, a Father and a Son: For the famous Rhetorician, Master both to *Cæsar* and *Cicero*, was call'd *Apollonius Molon*, vid. *Rualdi. notas præfix. Pl. Ed. Par.*

the Son of *Molon*, and for a Philosopher with *Possidonius*.

It is reported that *Apollonius* not understanding the *Roman* language, desired *Cicero* to declaim in *Greek*, and that he readily obey'd him, as knowing it the best way to have his defects amended: After he had ended his declamation, others were astonished and mutually contended in praise of the Orator, but *Apollonius* as he had discovered no great transport whilst he heard him, so when he had done he sat musing with himself for some considerable time, at which *Cicero* being disturbed, he said unto him, *Thou, O Cicero, I praise and admire, but by the Fortune of Greece to see thee and Eloquence the only Ornaments that I possess, by thee transported to the Roman.*

And now when *Cicero* full of expectation, was again bent upon political affairs, a certain Oracle blunted the edge of his inclination, for consulting the God of *Delphos* how he should arrive at the top of Glory, *Pythia* answer'd by making his own genius, and not the opinion of the people the guide of his life, and therefore at first he pass'd his time in *Rome* cautiously, and was very backward in pretending to publick Offices, so that he was at that time in little esteem, and had got the names of
Greece

Greek and *Schollar*, the usual and ordinary Cant of the meanest *Mechanicks* of *Rome*.

But being by Nature very desirous of Fame, and by his Father and Relations also incited thereto, he apply'd himself to pleading, in which he arriv'd at eminence, not by gentle and slow degrees, but on a sudden his glory shone forth, and he far surpass'd all the Advocates of the Bar.

At first it is said, he was, as well as *Demosthenes*, very defective in Action, and therefore he diligently apply'd himself sometimes to *Roscus* the Comedian, and sometimes to *Æsop* the Tragedian.

They report of this *Æsop*, that whilst he was representing on the Theatre *Atræus* deliberating the revenge of *Thyestes*, he was so transported beyond himself in the heat of Action, that with his Truncheon he smote one of the Servants hastily crossing the Stage, and laid him dead upon the place.

And such afterwards was *Cicero's* Action, that it did not a little contribute to render his Eloquence persuasive, deriding the Rhetoricians of his time for delivering their Orations with great noise, he said it was want of Ability to speak that made them bawl, as lame men who cannot walk get on horseback.

And indeed his facetious humour in jeering
Y ring

ring and jesting seemed very proper and delightful at the Bar, but his using it to excess offended many, and gave him the repute of ill manners.

He was appointed *Questor* in a great scarcity of Corn, and had *Sicily* for his Province, where tho' at first he displeased many by compelling them to send in their Provisions to *Rome*; yet after they had had experience of his Care, Justice, and Clemency, they honoured him more than ever they did any of their Governours before.

Not long after some young Men of good and noble Families charged with disorder and dissoluteness against Martial Discipline, were sent back from *Rome* to the Pretor of *Sicily*. But *Cicero* so excellently managed their defence, that he got them all discharged,

Returning to *Rome* with a great Opinion of himself for these things, a pleasant accident befell him, for lighting upon an eminent Citizen of *Rome* in *Campania*, whom he accounted his Friend, and asking him what the *Romans* said and thought of his Actions, as if the whole City had been filled with the noise and glory of what he had done, he answered, *Why Cicero where hast thou been all this time*: It struck him dead at Heart to perceive, that the re-
port

port of his Actions was fallen into the City of *Rome* as an immense Ocean, without any return of publick Glory. And therefore afterwards considering with himself, that the glory he contended for was an infinite thing, and that there was neither end nor measure in such pursuits, he abated much of his Ambitious thoughts: Yet, nevertheless he was excessively pleased with his own praise, and continued to the very last most passionately desirous of Glory; which often interrupted the prosecution of his wisest Resolutions.

Applying himself more resolutely to publick Business, he accounted it an absurd thing that Artificers using Vessels and Instruments inanimate, should know the Name, Place, and Use of every one of them; and yet the Statesman, who manageth publick Affairs by Men, should be negligent and careless in the knowledge of Persons, and things relating to the Commonwealth; and therefore he not only acquainted himself with the Names, but also knew the particular Place where every one of the more eminent Citizens dwelt, what Lands he possessed, the Friends he made use of, and those that were of his Neighborhood, and when he travelled the road of *Italy*, he could readily name and shew the Estates and Seats of his Friends.

Having so small an Estate, tho' a sufficient competency for his own expences, it was much wondred that he took neither Fees nor Gifts from his Clients, more especially that he did it not when he undertook the prosecution of *Verres*: This *Verres*, who had been Pretor of *Sicily*, and stood charged by the *Sicilians*, of many evil practices during his Government there, *Cicero* caused to be condemned not by speaking, but in a manner by holding his Tongue. For the Judges favouring *Verres*, had deferred the Tryal by several Adjournments to the last day, in which it was evident there could not be sufficient time for the Advocates to be heard, nor to bring the Cause to an Issue; *Cicero* steps up, and said there was no need of Speeches, and therefore producing and examining Witnesses he required the Judges to proceed to Sentence.

And yet there are many pleasant things said to be spoken by *Cicero* in this Cause.

As when an emancipated Slave, by Name * *Cecilius*, suspected of the Jewish Religion, would have put by the *Sicilians*, and undertaken the prosecution of *Verres* himself; *Cicero* said, *but what has a Jew to do with Swines Flesh*. For the Romans call a † gelt

* Q. *Cecilius Niger* ad se accusandi munus pertinere contendit quia erat *Verres* Quaestor.

† Have the Translator errs with

the Author, for *Verres*, according to M. Terentius Varro, amongst the Latins, signifies a Bore-pig, *Magalis* a gelt Pig, and it should have been in the Greek *verres* or *verres* to have justified another rendering.

Pig,

Pig, Verres. *Verres* reproaching *Cicero* for Effeminacy, he reply'd, you should have given this reproach within your own doors, to your Children; for *Verres* had a Son, a pretty grown Boy, who was supposed basely to prostitute his Beauty: *Hortensius* the Orator not daring directly to undertake the defence of *Verres*, was yet persuaded to appear for him at the laying on of the Fine, and received an Ivory *Sphinx* for his reward: *Cicero* in some passage of his Speech obliquely reflecting on him, *Hortensius* told him, he was not skillful in solving Riddles, no says *Cicero*, and yet you have a *Sphinx* at home.

Verres being thus condemned, and *Cicero* setting the Fine but at || Seventy five Myriads, he lay under the Suspicion of being corrupted by Bribery to lessen the Sum.

Myriades simpliter positae in re nummaria nunquam aliud significant quam Decem Millia Drachmarum, ut decies apud Latinos nunquam aliud quam decies sestertium *Grimm* de pecunia veteri, p. 541. Ed. Elzev. So that the 75 Myriades in Cicero's Taxation must be accounted Myriades of Denarii, which as Rualdus computes them, amounts to Tricies sestertium, a Sum far short of the Legal penalty in such Cases; and therefore there must be an Error in Plutarch, or his Transcriber: But if an account be taken of this Matter from Cicero's own Relation, it will be very evident that he gave no occasion to render his Justice suspected of being corrupted by Bribery, as Plutarch intimates: For he did not only require of *Verres* the double value of his unjust Extortions in *Sicily*, which was the least Sum that could be by Law imposed, but with a more severe Justice also one other half. For *Verres*'s Exactions being valued at Quadragesies sestertium, the double forfeiture amounts but to Octingentes sestertium, but he demands Millies sestertium, quo nomine a re Millies sestertium, ex lege repetit, ut ex divinatione & oratione re in Verrem patet.

Y 3

But

But yet the *Sicilians* in Testimony of their Gratitude, sent and brought him many presents from that Isle when he was *Ædilis*, of which he made no private Gain for himself, but rather made use of their Generosity to bring down the Price of Victual.

* Non Ar-
pi urbs
Apuliæ, sed
Arpinum in
Campania ut
sunt Nea-
polis &
Pompei,
Test. Plin.
Lib. 3.
Cap. 3.

He had a very pleasant Seat at * *Arpinum*, he had also a Farm near *Neapolis*, and another about *Pompeii*, but neither of any great value. The Portion of his Wife *Terentia*, amounted to Twelve Myriads, and his own Inheritance was computed to Nine Myriads of *Denarii*, of this he lived freely and temperately with the learn'd *Greeks* and *Romans* that were his Familiars. He rarely if at any time sat down to Meat till Sunset, and that not so much for Business, as for his Health, and the Weakness of his Stomach, he was otherwise in the care of his Body nice and delicate, as by using himself to a set number of Walks and Rubbings; and after this manner managing the habit of his Body, he brought it in time to be healthful and able to endure great fatigue and labour.

He made over his paternal Seat to his Brother, but he himself dwelt near Mount *Palatin*, that he might not give the trouble of long Journeys to those that made suit to him; and indeed there were not fewer daily appearing at his Door, to do their Court to him, than did to *Crassus* for his

his Riches, or to *Pompey* for his power amongst the Souldiers, the most admired and greatest Men of *Rome* of that time. Yea *Pompey* himself paid observance to *Cicero*, and *Cicero*'s power in the Commonwealth conferr'd much to the encrease of the authority and glory of *Pompey*. When many and great Competitors stood with him for the *Prætors* Office he was chosen before them all, and managed the Decision of Causes with Justice and Integrity: It is reported that *Licinius Macer* a Man of himself of great power in the City, and supported also by the assistance of *Crassus*, was accused before him of extortion, and that in confidence of his own Interest, and the diligence of Friends, whilst the Judges were debating about the Sentence, he went to his own House, where hastily trimming himself, and pulling on a White Gown as already acquitted, he returned again towards the Court; but *Crassus* meeting him in the Porch, and telling him that he was condemned by general Suffrage, he went home, threw himself upon his Bed, and died immediately: This Sentence gave Reputation to *Cicero* for his dexterity in over-ruling the Bench. When *Vatinius* one of a rough Nature, insolent at the Bar to the Judges, having his Neck swoln with scrophulous humours, stood before the Tribunal of *Cicero*, and

* In Omni
pene lin-
gua usita-
tum, impu-
dentes, pre-
sertim in
dicendo
temerarios
valido &
duro collo
præditos
dicere.

asking something, which he denied, and desired longer time to consider of; had said he would not have disputed this, had he been *Prætor*: *Cicero* turning towards him, replied, but I have not so large and stiff a * Neck as you have.

When there were but two or three Days remaining in his Office, *Manilius* was brought before him, and charged with Extortion. Now this *Manilius* had the good opinion and favour of the Common People, and was thought to be prosecuted only for *Pompey's* sake, whose particular Friend he was; and therefore when he had asked a set time for his Tryal, and *Cicero* had allowed him but one Day, and that the next only: The Common people grew highly offended, because it had been the custom of the *Prætors* to allow Ten days at least to the Accused; when the *Tribunes* of the People having called him to the Bar, and accusing him (of an *excess of Prædilection*) he desiring to be heard, said, that as he had always used the Accused with Equity and Humanity, as far as the Law allowed, so he thought it hard to deny the same to *Manilius*, and that he had studiously appointed that day of which only, as *Prætor* he was Master, and that it was not the part of those that were desirous to help him to cast the judgment of his Cause upon another *Prætor*. These things being said,

said, made a wonderful change in the people, and commending him much for it, they desired that he himself would undertake the defence of *Manilius*, which he willingly consented to, and that principally for the sake of *Pompey*, who was absent, and therefore stepping up again, he made an Oration of the whole Matter, from the beginning, briskly reflecting upon the Faction, and the Enemies of *Pompey*.

Yet he was prefer'd to the Consulship no less by the Nobles, than the Common people for the good of the City; and both parties joyntly assisted his promotion upon this account. The change of Government made by *Sylla* which at first seem'd intolerable, by time and usage did now appear to the people, no ill way of settlement; there were indeed some that endeavoured to alter and subvert the present State of Affairs, but more for their own private gain than publick good.

Pompey being at this time employ'd in Wars with the Kings of *Pontus* and *Armenia*, there wanted sufficient force at *Rome*, to suppress those that affected change in the Commonwealth: These had for their Head a Man of a bold, daring and restless Humour, *Lucius Catiline*, who was accused besides other great Offences of deflowering his Virgin Daughter, and killing his own Brother, of which latter

ter fearing to be prosecuted at Law, he perswaded *Sylla* to set him down as tho' he were yet alive, amongst those that were to be put to death by proscription.

This Man the profligate Citizens choosing for their Captain, gave faith to one another by Sacrificing a Man and eating of his flesh; and a great part of the young Men of the City were corrupted by him, he providing for every one, pleasures, Drink, and Women, profusely supplying the expence of those debauches.

All *Etruria* was in a disposition to revolt, and a great part of *Gallia Cisalpina*, but *Rome* it self was in the most dangerous inclination to change, by reason of the unequal distribution of the Wealth of that place, for persons of the greatest Honour and Spirit, had made themselves poor by shews, entertainments, ambition of Offices, and sumptuous Buildings, and by this the Riches of the City were fallen into the hands of mean and despicable persons, so that there wanted but little Weight to remove the Seat of Affairs, it being in the power of every daring Man to overturn a sickly Commonwealth.

But *Catiline* being desirous of procuring a strong Fort in order to his future Designs, pretended to the Consulship, and was in great hopes of having *Caius Antonius* for his
Colleague

Colleague, a Man of himself neither a fit Leader for the best nor worst designs, but such a one as might make a good accession to the others power: These things the greatest part of the good and honest Citizens apprehending, put *Cicero* upon standing for the Consulship, whom the people readily receiving, *Catiline* was put by, so *Cicero* and *C. Antonius* were chosen, altho' amongst the Competitors *Cicero* was the only Man descended from a Father of the *Equestrian*, and not of the *Patrician* Order.

Tho' the Designs of *Catiline* were not yet publickly known; yet great previous Commotions immediately followed upon *Cicero's* entrance upon the Consulship; for on the one side, those which were forbidden, by the Laws of *Sylla*, publick Offices, being neither inconsiderable in power nor number, stood and caressed the People for them, speaking many things truly and justly against the Tyranny of *Sylla*, had they not disturbed the Government in an improper and unseasonable time; on the other side, the Tribunes of the People proposed Laws upon the same *Hypothesis*, constituting a *Decemvirate* with unaccountable power, with whom, as Lords, should be the Right of selling the publick Lands of all *Italy* and *Syria*, and whatsoever *Pompey* had newly Conquered, of judging and banishing whom

whom they pleased, and of planting Colonies, of taking monies out of the Treasury, and of levying and paying what Souldiers should be thought needful, and therefore several of the Nobility favoured this Law, but especially *C. Antonius*, *Cicero's* Collegue in hopes of being one of the Ten: but that that gave the greatest fear to the Nobles was, that he was thought privy to the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, and not to dislike it, because of his great Debts.

Cicero endeavouring in the first place to provide a Remedy against this danger, got a Decree of the Province of *Macedonia* for *Antonius*, and *Gallia* which was given to himself, he relinquished, by this kindness he so wrought *Antonius* to his beck, that like a hired Player he was always ready to Second him for the good of his Country, and when he had made him thus tame and and tractable, *Cicero* with greater courage attacked the affectors of Innovation, and therefore in the Senate making an Oration against the Law of the *Decemvirates*, he so confounded those which proposed it, that they had nothing to reply: But if when they again endeavoured, and having prepared things beforehand, had call'd the Consuls before the Common Hall, *Cicero* fearing nothing went first out, and commanded the Senate to follow him, so that he

he not onely threw out the Law, but vanquished the *Tribunes* with his Eloquence, that he made them lay aside all their other pretences.

For *Cicero* was the Man who principally demonstrated to the *Romans*, how great a relish Eloquence gives to that that is good, and how invincible a just proposal is, if it be well spoken, and that it is necessary for him who would dextrously govern a Commonwealth, in action always to prefer that which is honest before that which is popular, and in speaking to separate that which is offensive, from that that is convenient.

And there was an accident in the Theatre in the time of his Consulship which was a demonstration of the prevalence of his Eloquence.

For whereas formerly the Knights of *Rome* were mingled in the Theatre with the common People, and took their places amongst them as it happen'd, * *Marcus Otho* the Prætor was the first, who in Honour distinguished them from the other Citizens, and appointed them a proper Seat, which they still enjoy as their more eminent place in the Theatre: This the common People took as an indignity done to them; and therefore when *Otho* appear'd in the Theatre, they in reproach hissed him; the Knights

* Vel potius
L. Roscius
Otho Tribune of the
People, for so
were his
Names and
Office, and
the Law instituted
about that
Matter, is
stiled Lex
Roscia.

Knights on the contrary received him with loud clapping, the People repeated and increased their hissing; the Knights continued their clapping, upon this turning upon one another they fell to reproaches, so that the Theatre was in great disorder: *Cicero* being informed of it, came himself to the Theatre, and summoning the People into the Temple of *Bellona*, he so effectually chid and chastiz'd them for it, that they again returning into the Theatre, received *Orto* with aloud applause contending with the Knights who should give the greatest demonstrations of honour and respect to the Praetor.

The Conspiracy of *Catiline* at first time-rous and disheartned, began again to take courage, and therefore assembling themselves together, they exhorted one another more boldly to undertake the Design before *Pompey's* return, who, as it was said, was now on his March with his Forces for *Rome*. But the *Veterane* Souldiers of *Sylla* were *Catiline's* chiefest confidence; these had been disbanded all about *Italy*, but the greatest number and the valiantest of them lay scattered about the Cities of *Etruria*, dreaming of new Plunder and Rapine amongst the hoarded Riches of *Italy*: These having for their Leader *Manilius*, who had eminently served in the Wars under *Sylla*,
joyn'd

joyn'd themselves to *Catiline*, and came to *Rome* to assist him with their Suffrages at the Election: For he again pretended to the Consulship, having resolv'd to kill *Cicero* in the Tumult of the Assembly.

Besides the Gods seem'd by Earthquakes, Thunders, and Spectres to foretell the Design, and there were also intimations from Men concerning it, true enough in themselves, tho' not sufficient for the conviction of the Noble and very powerful *Catiline*: Wherefore *Cicero* deferring the Day of Election, conven'd *Catiline* into the Senate, and there examin'd him of those things that were reported; *Catiline* believing there were many in the Senate desirous of Change, and to give a Specimen of himself to the Conspirators present, answered with a gentle Hypocrisie: *What ill do I, says he, there being two Bodies, the one Lean and Consumptive with a Head, the other great and strong without one, if I put a Head to that Body which wants one*: These things being enigmatically spoken of the Senate and People, *Cicero* was the more afraid.

Him, armed with Coat of Mail, the most eminent Citizens and many of the Young Gentlemen conducted from his House to the *Campus Martius*, where designedly throwing his upper Garment off from his Shoulders, he shewed his Armour underneath.

neath, and discovered his danger to the Spectators, who being very much moved at it, gather'd round about him for his defence. But at length, *Catiline* was by a general Suffrage again put by, and *Silanus* and *Murena* chosen Consuls.

Not long after this *Catiline's* Souldiers were got together in a Body in *Etruria*, the Day appointed for the Design being near at hand: About midnight some of the principal and most powerful Citizens of *Rome*, as *Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus* went to *Cicero's* House, where knocking at the Gate, and calling up the Porter, they commanded him to awake *Cicero*, and tell him they were there. The Business was this: *Crassus* his Porter after Supper had delivered him Letters brought by an unknown Person: Some of them were directed to others, but one to *Crassus* without a Name; this only *Crassus* read, which inform'd him, that there was a great slaughter intended by *Catiline*, and advis'd him to leave the City: The others he did not open, but went with them immediately to *Cicero*, being frighted at the danger, and to free himself of the suspicion he lay under, for his familiarity with *Catiline*. *Cicero* therefore considering of the Matter, summon'd the Senate at break of day. The Letters he brought with him,

and

and deliver'd them to those to whom they were directed commanding them to read them publickly; they all alike contain'd an account of the Conspiracy.

But after *Quintus Marrius* a man of Pre-^{In the}torian dignity, had declared that there ^{Greek & As-}was a lifting of men in *Etruria*, and that ^{gros but}*Marcius* was said to be by with a great ^{here the}force hovering about those Cities, in ex-^{Translator}pectation of some alteration in *Rome*. ^{follows Sa-}The Senate made a decree to put over all affairs to the Consuls, and that they taking them into their care, should according to their discretion, order and preserve the Common-wealth. This the Senate did not use to do often, but only in case of imminent danger: After *Cicero* had receiv'd this power, he committed all affairs abroad to *Q. Metellus*, but the manage of the City he kept in his own hands. Such a numerous attendance guarded him every day he went abroad, that the greatest part of the Market place was fill'd with his train when he entred it. *Catiline* impatient of further delay resolv'd himself to fly to *Manlius* his Camp, but commanded *Marcius* and *Cethegus* to take their swords and go early in the morning to *Cicero's* gates, as if only intending to salute him, and then to fall upon him and slay him. This a Noble Lady

Z.

Fulvia

Fulvia coming by Night, discover'd to *Cicero*, bidding him beware of *Cethegus* and *Marcus*. They came by break of day, and being denied entrance, stormed and roared at the gates, which render'd them more suspicious. But *Cicero* going forth summon'd the Senate into the Temple of *Jupiter Stator* seated on the top of the holy street which goeth up to the Capitol; where *Catiline* with others of his party also coming, as intending to make his defence none of the Senators would sit by him; but all of them left that Bench where he had placed himself, and when he began to speak interrupted him with noise.

At length *Cicero* standing up commanded him to leave the City, for since one govern'd the Common-wealth with words, the other with arms, it was necessary there should be a Wall betwixt them: *Catiline* therefore immediately left the Town, with three hundred armed men, and taking to himself as a Magistrate, the rods, axes and other ensigns of Authority, he went to *Marcus*, and having got together a Body of near twenty thousand men, with these he marched to the several Cities, endeavouring to persuade or force them to revolt. So it being now come to open War, *Antonius* was sent forth to fight him, the remainder of those in the City which *Catiline*

line had corrupted *Cornelius Lentulus* got together and encouraged.

He had the Sirname *Sura*, a man of a Noble Family; but a dissolute liver, who for his debauchery was formerly thrown out of the Senate, he was then the second time Pretor, as the custom was when ejected persons were restored to the Senatorian Honour; It is said that he got the Sirname *Sura* upon this occasion; being *Questor* in the time of *Sylla*, he had lavished away and consumed a great quantity of the publick monies, at which *Sylla* being provoked call'd him to give an account in the Senate, he appear'd with great insolence and contempt, and telling him that he would make no account, held up the Calf of his leg, as boys use to do when they make a default at Ball, upon which he was Sirnamed *Sura*, for the Romans call the Calf of the leg *Sura*.

Being at another time prosecuted at Law, and corrupting some of the Judges, he escaped only by two suffrages, but he complain'd what he had given to one of them was a needless charge, because one suffrage would have been sufficient to have absolved him.

This man, such a one in his own nature, and incensed by *Catiline*, the false Prophets and Magicians had also corrupted with

vain hopes, enchanting him with fictitious Verses and Oracles, and demonstrating from the Sybilline Prophecies that there were three *Cornelius's* design'd by Fate to be Monarchs of *Rome*; two of which, *Cinna* and *Sylla* had already fulfill'd the fatal decree, and that the Gods were now coming to offer the Monarchy to the third *Cornelius* remaining, and that therefore he ought by all means to accept it, and not lose his opportunity by delay, as *Catiline* had done.

Lentulus therefore designed no mean or trivial matters, for he had resolved to kill the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as he could, to fire the City, and spare no body but only *Pompey's* Children, intending to seize and keep them as pledges of his reconciliation with *Pompey*: For there was then a common and strong report that *Pompey* was returning from a great expedition. The Night appointed for the design was the first of the *Saturnalia's*: Swords, flax, and Sulphur, they carried and hid in *Cethegus* his house, and providing one hundred men, and dividing the City into as many parts, they had allotted to every one singly his proper place, so that in a moment many kindling the fire, the City might be in a flame all together, others were appointed to stop up the Aquaducts and

and to kill those who should endeavour to carry water to quench it.

Whilst these things were preparing, it hapned there were two Embassadors from the *Allobroges* then resident at *Rome*, a Nation at that time in a distressed condition, and very uneasie under the *Roman* Government: These *Lentulus* and his party adjudging useful instruments to move and seduce *Gallia* to revolt, admitted into the Conspiracy, and they gave them Letters to their own Magistrats, and Letters to *Catiline*, in those they promised liberty, in these they exhorted *Catiline* to set all slaves free, and to bring them along with him to *Rome*, they sent with them to *Catiline*, one *Titus*, a Native of *Croton* who was to carry those Letters to him.

These being the Counsels of inconsidering men, and such as conversed together with Wine and Women, *Cicero* pursued with industry, consideration, sobriety, and great prudence, having besides several Emisaries abroad who observed and traced with him all they did, he also conferr'd privately with, and confided in many, who were thought engaged in the Conspiracy, he knew all the discourses which passed betwixt them and the strangers; and lying in wait for them by Night, he took the *Crotonian* with his Letters; the *Allobroges*

Embassadors being in private Consult with him: By break of day he summoned the Senate into the Temple of *Concord*, where he read the Letters and examined the discoverers.

Junius Syllanus added that several had heard *Cethegus* say, that three Consuls and four Pretors were to be slain; *Piso* also a person of consular dignity. testified other matters of the like nature, and *Caius Sulpicius*, one of the Pretors being sent to *Cethegus* his house, found there a great quantity of Arrows, Arms, swords and daggers all newly furnished: At length the Senate, decreeing indemnity to the *Crotonian* upon discovery of the whole matter, *Lentulus* was convicted, abjured his Office (for he was then Pretor) and put off his Robe edged with purple in the Senate, changing it for another garment more agreeable to his present circumstance: He thereupon with the rest of his confederates present, was committed to the Pretor, in free Custody.

It being evening and the common people in crowds, expecting without; *Cicero* went forth to them and told them what was done, and then, attended with them, went to the house of a Friend, and near Neighbour, for his own was taken up by the Women, who were celebrating with secret rites the Feast of the

the Goddess, whom the Romans call *Bona*, or the good, the Greeks *ῥουακεία*; for a Sacrifice was annually performed to her in the Consuls house, either by his wife or Mother in the presence of the Vestal Virgins.

Cicero being got to his Friends house privately, a few only being present, fell to deliberate with himself, how he should treat these men; the severest punishment, and such indeed as was fit for so great crimes he was afraid, and shie of executing, as well from the Clemency of his Nature as also least he should be thought to exercise his authority too insolently, and to treat too rudely men of the Noblest Birth, and most powerful friendships in the City, and yet if he should use them more mildly, he had a dreadful prospect of danger from them, for there was no likelihood, if they suffered less than death, they would be reconciled to him, but rather adding new rage to their former wickedness, break forth into all manner of insolence, whilst he himself should gain thereby the repate of a cowardly and timorous person, upon other accounts not thought over valiant by the Vulgar: Whilst *Cicero* was doubting what course to take in these matters, a portentous accident happened amongst the Womens sacrificing; for on the Altar where the fire seem'd wholly extinguished a great

and bright flame issued forth from the Ashes of the burnt Wood, at which others were affrighted; but the Holy Virgins, call'd to *Terentia Cicero's* Wife, and bid her hast to her husband, and command him to execute what he had resolved for the good of his Country, for the Goddess had given great light to his safety and Glory. *Terentia* therefore as she was otherwise in her own Nature neither pittifull nor timorous, but an ambitious Woman (who as *Cicero* himself saith, would rather thrust her self into his publick affairs than communicate her domestick to him) told him these things and incensed him against the Conspirators; the same did also *Quintus* his Brother, and *Publius Nigidius* one of his Companions in Philosophy, whom he often made use of in his greatest and most weighty affairs of State.

The next day a debate arising in the Senate about the punishment of these men, * *Syllanus* being the first who was asked his opinion, said it was fit they should be all sent to prison, and there suffer the utmost penalty, to him all consented in order till it came to *Caius Cæsar*, who was afterwards Dictator, he was then but a young man, and had only gain'd the beginnings of his Future rise, having directed his hopes and policy that way by which

* *Julius Silius* primus sententiam rogatus, quia eodem tempore Consul designatus erat vid. *Salustian.*

he afterwards changed the Roman affairs into a Monarchy: His guilt was unknown to others, yet to *Cicero* he had given many suspicions, tho no sufficient proof to convict him, and there were some indeed that said, tho he was very near being discover'd yet he had escaped him; but others were of opinion that *Cicero* voluntarily overlookt and neglected the evidence against him for fear of his Friends and power, for it was very evident to every body, that these would be rather a means of *Cæsars* escape; then *Cæsars* guilt an occasion of their punishment: When therefore it came to *Cæsars* turn to give his opinion he stood up, and declared that the Conspirators should not be put to death, but their Estates confiscated, and their persons * sent to such Cities in *Italy*, as *Cicero* should approve, there to be kept prisoners till *Catiline* was conquered: To this sentence being the most moderate, and he that deliver'd it a most powerful speaker, *Cicero* himself gave no small weight, for he stood up and turning the scale on either side, he spake sometimes in favour of the former, sometimes of *Cæsars* sentence.

But all *Cicero's* Friends judging *Cæsars* sentence most expedient for *Cicero* (because he would incur the lesse blame, if the Conspirators were not put to death) chose

† Senator stando sententiam dixit.

* Alia erat sententia *Cæsaris* viz. conjuratos *Catiline* in perpetuam custodiam damnandos, non pro tempore sic restatur *Crisp.*

Salustianus, qui judicio interfuit vel intercesse potuit vid. *Bell. Catilin. p. 36. Ed. Elsev.*

chose rather the latter; so that *Syllanus* also changing his mind retracted his opinion, and said he had not declared for Capital, but only the utmost punishment, which to a *Roman* Senator is imprisonment: *Cæsar* having given his sentence, *Catulus* *Laetius* was the first who contradicted it, him *Cato* seconded, and in his Oration cast such a vehement suspicion upon *Cæsar*, and so fill'd the Senate with anger and resolution, that a decree was passed for the execution of the Conspirators; But *Cæsar* opposed the confiscation of their Goods, not thinking it fit that those who had rejected the mildest part of his sentence, should make use of the severest: Many insisting for it, he appeals to the * Tribunes, but they would not be ruled by him, till *Cicero* himself yielding, remitted that part of the Sentence about confiscation.

After this *Cicero* went out with the Senate to the Conspirators, they were not altogether in one place, but the several Pretors had them some one, some another in custody: And first he took *Lentulus* out of the Palace and brought him by *Via Sacra* through the middle of the Market place, a circle of the most eminent Citizens encompassing and guarding *Cicero*. The People affrighted at what was doing, passed by in silence; especially the young Men

Men seem'd with fear and trembling, as if they were initiating in some sacred Mysteries of Aristocratic Tyranny.

Afterwards passing from the Market place, and coming to the Goal he delivered *Lentulus* to the Officer, and commanded him to execute him, and after him *Cethegus*, and so all the rest in order he brought and delivered up to Execution.

And when he saw many of the Conspirators in the Market place, standing together in companies, ignorant of what was done, but expecting Night, as if the Men were still alive, and in a possibility of being rescued, he call'd to them in a loud voice and said, *They did Live*, for so the *Romans* to avoid harsh Language express those that are dead: It was now Evening when he return'd from the Market place to his own House, the Citizens no longer attending him with silence, nor in order, but receiving him as he pass'd with acclamations and applauses, saluted him, Saviour and Founder of his Countrey.

A bright Light shone thro' the Streets from the Lamps and Torches set up at the Doors, and the Women appear'd from the tops of their Houses, to honour and behold *Cicero* returning home with a splendid train of the most principal Citizens, amongst whom were several who had managed

Penes Tribunos
plebis erat
motum interponere
Senatus
consulto.

naged great Wars, obtained Triumphs, and added to the Possessions of the *Roman* Empire, both at Sea and Land, these as they passed along with him, acknowledged to one another that tho' the *Roman* People were indebted to several Officers and Commanders of that Age, for Riches, Spoils, and Power, yet to *Cicero* alone they owed the safety and security of all these, for delivering them from so great and eminent a danger; for tho' it might seem no wonderful thing to prevent the design and punish the Conspirators, yet to defeat the greatest of all Conspiracies with so little damage trouble and comotion was very extraordinary; for many of those who had run into *Catiline*, as soon as they heard the fate of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* left and forsook him, and he himself with his remaining Forces joyning battle with *Antonius* was destroy'd with his Army.

And yet there were some who were very ready both to speak and do ill to *Cicero* for these things, and they had for their Leaders some of the Magistrates of the ensuing Year, as *Cæsar* one of the Prætors, and *Metellus* and *Bestia* the Tribunes, these entering upon their Office some few days before *Cicero's* consulate expired, would not permit him to make his Oration to the People, but throwing the Forms before the

Rostra

Rostra hinder'd his speaking, commanding him if he pleased only to abjure his Office and descend: *Cicero* upon this moving as going to abjure, and silence being made, he made his Oath not in the usual, but a new and peculiar Form, viz. that he had saved his Countrey and preserved the Government; the truth of which Oath all the People by Oath confirmed.

Cæsar and the Tribunes being the more exasperated by these things, endeavour'd to create him further trouble, and therefore a Law was proposed for the calling *Pompey* home with his Army, to suppress the insolence of *Cicero*; but it was a very lucky thing to *Cicero* and the whole Commonwealth, that *Cato* was at that time one of the Tribunes, for he being of equal power with the rest, and of greater esteem opposing their Designs, both easily defeated all other projects, and in an Oration to the People, so highly extolled *Cicero's* Consulship, that the greatest Honours were decreed him, and he publickly declar'd the Father of his Countrey, which Title he seems * first to have obtain'd, when *Cato* so stiled him in his Oration to the People.

At this time therefore his Authority was very great in the City; but he created himself much envy, and offended very many, not by any evil Action, but because he was always

* Viz. The first time he had the honour of that Name given him before an Assembly of the People, for it was before given him in a full Senate by Q. Catulus, as *Cicero* himself testifies, Orat. cont. Piso & pro. P. Sextio.

always praising and magnifying himself : for neither Senate, nor Assembly of the People, nor Court of Judicature could meet, in which he was not heard to boast of *Catiline* and *Lentulus* ; besides, he so filled his Books and Writings with his own *Encomiums*, that he rendered a stile in it self most pleasant and delightful, nauseous and irksome to his hearers ; this ungrateful humour, like a disease, always cleaving to him : Nevertheless, tho' he was intemperately fond of his own praise, yet he was very free from envying others, and most liberally profuse in commending both the Ancients and his contemporaries, as is to be understood by his Writings, and many of those Sayings are still recorded, as that concerning *Aristotle*, that he was a River of flowing Gold, of *Plato's* dialogue, that if *Jupiter* were to speak, he would discourse as he did ; *Theophrastus* he was wont to call his peculiar delight, and being asked which of *Demosthenes* his Orations he liked best, he answered the longest.

And yet some affected imitators of *Demosthenes*, have complained of a saying, written by *Cicero* in an Epistle to some of Friends, that *Demosthenes* in some of his Orations nodded ; but they are forgetful of the many and singular *Encomiums* he frequently gives him, and the Honour he did him, when he named the most elaborate

of all his Orations, those he wrote against *Anthony*, *Philippic's*.

And as for the eminent Men of his own time, either for Eloquence or Philosophy, there was not one of them which he did not by Writing or Speaking favourably of, render more illustrious, he obtain'd of *Cæsar* when in power, the Roman freedom for *Cratippus* the Peripatetic, and got the Court of *Arcepagus* by publick Decree to request his stay at *Athens* for the Instruction of their Youth, and the Ornament of their City. There are Epistles extant from *Cicero* to *Herodes*, and others to his Son, in which he requires them to follow the Philosophy of *Cratippus*.

In another he blames *Gorgias* the Rhetorician for seducing his Son to Luxury and drinking, and therefore forbids him his Company, which latter with another to *Pelops* the *Byzantine* are the only two of his Greek Epistles which seem to be written in Anger, in the first he justly reflects on *Gorgias*, if he were what he was thought to be, a dissolute and incorrigible Person ; but in the other he meanly expostulates and complains with *Pelops*, for neglecting to procure him a Decree of certain Honours from the *Byzantines* ; but these things are to be charged upon his Ambition and the warmth and vehemency of his Speaking.

ing, which often made him neglect *Decorum*,

When *Numatius* who had escaped judgment by *Cicero's* defence, prosecuted his Friend *Sabinus*, it is said that *Cicero* fell so foul upon him in his Anger, that he told him: *Numatius, thou wert not acquit for thy own sake, but because I so overshadowed the light, that the Court could not perceive thy guilt*: When from the *Rostra* he had made *Encomiums* of *Crassus* with good applause, and within few days after had again as publicly reproached him, *Crassus* call'd to him and said, *Didst not thou thyself in this place lately commend me*; no says *Cicero* I only exercised my Eloquence in declaiming upon a bad Subject. At another time *Crassus* saying, that none of the *Crass* in *Rome* liv'd above Threescore years, and afterwards recalling himself, and saying what was in my Head to say so? *Cicero* reply'd, *Thou knowest the Romans were glad to hear it, and therefore thou saidst it to wheedle the People*; when *Crassus* said, that he was pleas'd with the *Stoicks*, because they assert, the good Man is always Rich; nay rather says he, because they affirm all things belong to the Wise; for *Crassus* his covetousness was very notorious. When one of *Crassus* his Sons who was generally thought very like *Axius*, and for which

cause

cause his Mother lay under an ill publick Fame, made an Oration with good applause in the Senate, *Cicero* being asked what he thought of him, answered in a *Greek Clinch*, Αἴτιον Κράσσου. *Crassus* being to go into *Syria*[†] resolv'd to leave *Cicero*, rather his Friend than his Enemy, and therefore one day kindly saluting him, told him he would come and Sup with him, which the other as courteously received. Within few days after, some of *Cicero's* acquaintance, interceding for *Vatinus*, as desirous of reconciliation and Friendship (for he was then his enemy) reply'd, and will indeed *Vatinus* also come and Sup with me: And thus he used *Crassus*.

Vatinus pleading with *Scrophulous Tumours* in his Neck, he call'd him the *Swoln Orator*; having heard that he was dead, and presently after that he was alive again, may that rascal perish says he, who told so ill a lie.

Cæsar attempting a Law for the division of the Lands in *Campania* amongst the Souldiers, many in the Senate oppos'd it, amongst the rest *Lucius Gellius*, one of the oldest men in the House, said, it should never pass whilst he lived: Let us defer it till then, says *Cicero*, for *Gellius* does not require a very long day. To one *Ostavi-*

† Either reflecting on the impudence of the speaker or the roughness of his style. Utrumque sortium Horat. notat. 1. Sermon. 7. Satyr. vers. 7. conficiens tumidus 2 Ser. Sat. 5. Tumidis infusa sermonibus utrem.

us, supposed an *African* born, saying to *Cicero* pleading, that he did not hear him, *Cicero* reply'd, as yet your eare is not bored: When *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had destroy'd more as a Witness than he had saved as Advocate, I confess it, says *Cicero*, for I have much more truth then Eloquence: To a young man accused of giving a poisoned Cake to his Father, and confidently threatening that he would bespatter *Cicero* with reproaches, he said, I had much rather have those, than your Cake: *Publius Sestus*, having amongst others retain'd *Cicero* as his Advocate in a certain cause, and yet desirous to talk all for himself, and allow no body to speak for him, when he was ready to be acquitted by the judges and the Ballets were passing, *Cicero* call'd to him, *Sestus* use thy time to day, for to morrow thou wilt be but a private person: He cited *Publius Colla* to bear testimony in a certain Cause, one who affected to be thought a Lawyer, tho' ignorant and unlearned, to whom, when he had said, I know nothing of the matter, he answer'd thou thinkest perhaps we ask thee about a point of Law: To *Metellus Nepos* in a dispute betwixt them, often repeating who is thy Father, O *Cicero*: he reply'd, thy Mother has made the answer of that question to thee more difficult,

for

for *Nepos* his Mother was accounted a lewd woman. This *Nepos* was one of a very uncertain humour, for on a sudden he left the Tribuneship, and fled into *Syria* to *Pompey*, and immediately after return'd again with less confidence than he went; now he burying his Tutor *Philager* with more than ordinary curiosity, had set up over his monument a Marble Crow, which *Cicero* observing told him, thou hast done wisely in this, for thy Tutor has rather taught thee to fly than speak.

When *Marcus Appius* in his preamble to a Plea, had said, that his Friend had desired him to employ all his industry, Eloquence, and fidelity in that Cause. *Cicero* answer'd, then thou hast been very hard to thy Friend in not performing one of those things he has desired of thee. To use this bitter raillery against opposites and antagonists in pleading seems allowable Rhetoric at a Bar, but to fall upon every body only to move laughter, this created him great hatred: A few of which passages I shall relate; *Marcus Aquilius*, who had two Sons in Law in Exile, he call'd *Adrastus*; *Lucius Colla*, an intemperate Lover of Wine, was Censor when *Cicero* pretended to the Consulship, *Cicero* being dry at the Election, his friends stood round about him whilst he was drinking, you have reason to be afraid

† It is a known story that *Adrastus* King of *Argos* married his two Daughters to two Fugitives *Tydeus* and *Poly-nices*.

fraild, says *Cicero*, least the Cenfor should be angry that I drink water. Meeting one day *Voconius* with his three very ugly daughters, he cry'd out.

*This Man has sown his seed,
Without Apollo's leave or aid.*

When *Marcus Gellius* who was reputed the son of a slave had read several Letters in the Senate; with a very shrill and loud voice, wonder not, says *Cicero*, for this fellow is one of the Cryers: When *Faustus Sylla* the Son of *Sylla* the Dictator, who had during his Dictatorship by publick bills proscribed and condemned several Citizens, had so far wasted his Estate, and got into debt, that he was forced to publish his bills of sale, *Cicero* told him, that he liked these bills much better than those of his Father: By these things he became very odious to many.

But *Clodius's* faction conspired against him upon this occasion: *Clodius* was one of a Noble Family in the flower of his youth, and of a bold and resolute humour, he being in Love with *Pompeia Cæsars* Wife, got privately into his House in the habit and dress of a Minstrel, (for the women were then offering that Sacrifice in *Cæsars* house, which is neither to be heard

nor

nor seen by men) and there was no man present; but *Clodius*, being a youth and beardless hoped to get to *Pompeia* among the Women without being taken notice of, but entering that great house by Night he was lost in the passages, where *Aurilia* one of *Cæsars* Mothers Women spying him wandering up and down, inquir'd his name, thus being necessitated to speak, he told her he was seeking for one of *Pompeia's* maids by name *Aura*, she perceiving it not to be a Womans voice shrieked out, and call'd in the Women, who presently shutting up the Gates, and searching every place, at length found *Clodius* fled into the Chamber of that maid with whom he came in: This matter being noised abroad, *Cæsar* put away his Wife *Pompeia*, and *Clodius* was * prosecuted for profaning the holy Rites.

Cicero was at this time his Friend, for he had been useful to him in the conspiracy of *Catiline*, as one of his forwardest assistants and guard of his Body.

Clodius putting the stress of his defence, upon this point, that he was not then at *Rome*, but a far off in the Country, *Cicero* testify'd that he came to his house that day, and discoursed with him of several matters,

* Not by *Cæsar* as the Latin Translator by rendering it actively seems to imply, for he did not so much as testify against him, but by the Tribune of the people, as our Author affirms in the life of *Cæsar*.

matters, which thing was indeed true, although *Cicero* was thought to testify it; not so much for the truths sake as to preserve his quiet with *Terentia* his Wife, for she had a spite at *Clodius* upon the account of his Sister *Clodia*, who had a mind to marry *Cicero*, and manag'd the design by one *Tullus*, a Friend and intimate of *Cicero's* in his greatest affairs: And *Cicero* himself by frequently visiting and paying his Court to *Clodia* as a neighbour had given *Terentia* ground to suspect him. And she being a woman of a sower humour, and having the ascendant of *Cicero*, had provoked him to conspire and testify against *Clodius*.

Afterwards many good and honest Citizens did give evidence against him for perjuries, forgeries, bribing the people, and deflowering of Women. *Lucullus* proved by his maid servants, that he had lain with his youngest sister, when she was his Wife; and there was a publick Fame, that he did also converse with his two other Sisters in the same way; *Terentia*, whom *Martius Rex*, and *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer*, had married; the latter of them was called *Quadrantula* because one of her Lovers had deceived her with a purse of small brass mony instead of Silver,, the smallest brass coyn being cal-

led a *Quadrant*. Upon this Sisters account *Clodius* was principally defamed. Notwithstanding all this when the common people appear'd in Tumults against the accusers, and prosecutors of *Clodius*, the Judges were so affrighted, that a guard was placed about them for their defence; tho the names were confusedly written upon the Tables, yet it was evident that the greatest number did absolve him: and it was said there was bribery in the Case, and therefore *Catulus* meeting the Judges, told them, you did well in requiring a guard for your safety, for fear your mony should have been taken from you; and when *Clodius* upbraided *Cicero*, that the Judges did not believe his Testimony, yes, said he, five and twenty of them believ'd me, for so many of them have condemn'd you, but the other thirty did not believe you, for they did not absolve you till they had receiv'd your Mony.

But *Cæsar*, tho cited did not give his Testimony against *Clodius*, nor pretended to be convinced of his Wifes Adultery, but that he had put her away because it was fit that *Cæsars* bed should not be only free of the evil fact, but of the Fame too.

Clodius having escaped this danger and got to be chosen one of the Tribunes of

the people, immediatly attacqu'd *Cicero*, heaping up all matters, and inciting all persons against him, the common people he wheedled with popular laws; to each of the Consuls, he decreed large Provinces, to *Piso*, *Macedonia*, and to *Gellinius*, *Syria*: He muster'd together a rabble of indigent persons to serve his design, and had always armed slaves about him; of the three men then in greatest power, *Crassus* was *Cicero's* open Enemy, *Pompey* indifferently caressed both, *Cæsar* was going with an Army into *Gallia*.

Cicero applys himself to him, though none of his firm friends, having had a suspicion of him ever since the conspiracy of *Catiline*; of him he desires the Honour of being his Lieutenant general in that Province. *Cæsar* accepting him, *Clodius* perceived that *Cicero* fled his tribunitian Authority, and therefore pretends to be inclinable to a reconciliation, lays the greatest fault upon *Terentia*, makes always a favourable mention of him, and treats him with kind expressions, as one who had neither hatred nor ill will towards him, and thus expostulating the matter moderately and friendly, he so freed *Cicero* of all his fears, that he resigned his Lieutenantcy to *Cæsar*, and betook himself again to political affairs. At which *Cæsar* being

being exasperated, he confirmed *Clodius* against him, and wholly alienated *Pompey* from him, he also himself declared in a publick assembly of the people, that he did not think *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* with their accomplices were well and legally put to death, without being brought to Tryal.

And this indeed was the crime charged upon him; of which *Cicero* standing accused and prosecuted, he changed his habit, and in a sordid and untrimmed dress went about and supplicated the People, but *Clodius* always met him in every corner, having a pack of abusive and daring fellows about him, who with insolence publicly derided his dress, and change of habit, and would often by throwing dirt and Stones at him interrupt his supplications to the people. Altho at first, almost the whole Equestrian order changed their habits with him, and no less than twenty thousand young Gentlemen followed him untrimm'd, and supplicating with him to the people on his behalf. Afterwards the Senate met to pass a decree that the people should change their habit as in time of publick sorrow: But the Consuls opposing it, and *Clodius* with armed men besetting the Senate house, many of the Senators ran out, shrieking and tearing their Cloaths, but this sight moved neither shame nor pitty in them, for *Cicero*

cero must either fly or determine it by the Sword with *Clodius*. He intreated *Pompey* to aid him, who was on purpose gone out of the way, and resided at his Country house near *Albania*, and first he sent his Son in Law *Piso*, to intercede with him, but afterwards went himself, of which *Pompey* being informed, he durst not stay to see him, for he had a great reverence for that man, who had contended in so many quarrels for him, and had directed so much of his policy for his advantage, but being *Cæsar's* Son in Law, at his instance he set aside all former kindness received from *Cicero*, and slipping out at another door, avoided his intercession: Thus being forsaken by *Pompey* and left alone to himself, he fled to the Consuls. *Gabinus* was always surly to him, but *Piso* treated him more civilly, desiring him to yield and give place for a while to the fury of *Clodius*, and to expect the change of times, and to be once more a Saviour to his Country from those commotions and dangers which were raised upon his account.

Cicero receiving this answer, consulted with his Friends: *Lucullus* advised him to stay, as being sure to prevail at last, others to fly, because the people would soon desire him again, when they should have enough of the rage and madness of *Clodius*.

This

This last *Cicero* approv'd. But first he took the Statue of *Minerva*, which had been long set up in his house, and worshipt with singular devotion, and carrying it to the Capitol there dedicated it with this inscription: *MINERVÆ URBS ROMÆ PRÆSIDI*. To *Minerva* the Patrons of Rome. And receiving a safe convoy from his Friends about the middle of the night he left the City, and went on foot through *Lucania* intending to reach *Sicily*. But as soon as it was publicly known that he was fled, *Clodius* procured of the people a decree of Exile, and by bill interdicted him Fire and Water, prohibiting any within five hundred miles in *Italy*, to receive him into their houses. But all others who revered *Cicero*, little regarded the decree, for shewing him all kind offices they attended him in his passage.

But at *Hipponium* a City of *Lucania*, now call'd *Vibo*, one *Vibius* a *Sicilian* by birth, who amongst many other effects of *Cicero's* friendship had been made Surveyor of the works when he was Consul, would not indeed receive him into his house, yet sent him word he would appoint a place in the Country for his reception. *C. Virginius* the Pretor of *Sicily*, who had made use of *Cicero* in his greatest necessities wrote to him to forbear coming into *Sicily*. At these

these things *Cicero* being disheartned went to *Brundisium*, whence putting forth with a prosperous wind, a contrary gale blowing from the Sea carried him back to *Italy* the next day; he put again to Sea, and having finished his Sail to *Dyrrachium*, and putting on shore there, it is reported that an Earthquake and storm at Sea happened at the same time, from whence the South-seayers conjectured his Exile would not be long; for those things were Prognosticks of Change. Although many visited him with respect, and the Cities of *Greece* contended which should honour him most, yet he continued disheartned and disconsolate, like an unfortunate Lover, often casting a look back upon *Italy*, and indeed he was become so mean spirited, contracted, and dejected by his misfortunes as none could have expected in a man so thoroughly conversant in all sorts of Learning as he was.

And yet he often desired his Friends not to call him Orator, but Philosopher, because he had made Philosophy his business; but had only used Rhetorick as an instrument of Governing the Common-Wealth, when there was necessity for it.

But the desire of Glory has great power in blotting the Tinctures of Philosophy out of the Souls of men, and of imprinting the passions of the Vulgar, by custom and conversation

in the minds of those that govern them; unless the politician be very careful so to engage in publick affairs, as to interest himself in the affairs themselves, but not in the passions that are consequent to them.

Clodius having thus driven away *Cicero*, fell to burning his Vills, and afterwards his City house, and built in the place of it a Temple to *Liberty*, the rest of his goods he exposed to Sale by daily proclamation, but no body came to buy them.

By these things he became formidable to the chiefest Citizens, and having got together a Body of the Commonalty let loose to all manner of insolence and licentiousness, he fell foul upon *Pompey*, inveighing against several things done by him in the Wars; for these matters *Pompey* falling under an ill Opinion with the People, began to be displeased with himself for deserting *Cicero*, and changing his mind wholly set himself with his Friends to contrive his return, and when *Clodius* opposed it, the Senate made a Vote, that no publick Matter should be decreed or acted, till *Cicero* was recalled: But when *Lentulus* was Consul, the commotions grew so high upon this Matter, that the Tribunes were wounded in the Common hall, and *Quintus*, *Cicero*'s Brother was left as dead, and hid amongst the slain; upon this the People began to change their Opinion, and

Annius Milo one of their Tribunes was the first who took confidence to hale *Clodius* by force unto Judgment. Many of the Common People, and of the Neighbouring Cities joyning with *Pompey*, he went with them, and drove *Clodius* out of the Common-hall, and Summon'd in the People to pass their Vote; and it is said the people never passed any Suffrage more unanimously than this; the Senate also joying with the People, sent Letters of Thanks to those Cities which had received *Cicero* with respect in his Exile, and decreed that his House and Vills which *Clodius* had destroy'd should be rebuilt at the publick charges.

Thus *Cicero* returned Sixteen months after his Exile, and the Cities were so glad, and the men so zealous to meet him, that what *Cicero* boasted of afterwards, viz. that *Italy* had brought him on her Shoulders home to *Rome*, was rather less than the Truth: And *Crassus* himself, who had been his enemy before his Exile, went then voluntarily to meet him, and was reconciled; to please his Son *Publius*, as he said, who was *Cicero's* most affectionate Friend.

Cicero had not been long at *Rome*, but taking the opportunity of *Clodius* his absence, he goes with a great company to the Capitol, and there tears and defaces the Tribunitian Tables, in which was recorded the Acts that were done in the time of *Clodius*: *Clodius*,

dus, calling him in question for this, *Cicero* answered that he being of the *Patrician* Order, had got the Office of Tribune against Law, and therefore nothing was valid that was done by him: *Cato* was displeased and opposed *Cicero*; not that he commended *Clodius*, but rather disapproved his whole Administration of Affairs; yet he contended it was an irregular and violent course for the Senate to Vote the abolishing of so many Decrees and Acts, in which also were the Memoirs of his Government at *Cyprus* and *Byzantium*.

This occasion'd a breach betwixt *Cato* and *Cicero*, which tho' it came not to open enmity, yet it made a more reserv'd Friendship betwixt them: After this *Milo* kill'd *Clodius*, and being arraign'd for the Murther, he chose *Cicero* for his Advocate. The Senate fearing least the questioning of so eminent and high Spirited a Citizen as *Milo*, might disturb the Peace of the City, committed the regulating of this, and such other tryals to *Pompey*, to preside for the security of the City, and of the Courts of Justice: *Pompey* therefore went in the Night and encompassed the outward part of the *Forum* with Souldiers. *Milo* fearing least *Cicero* being disturb'd by such an unusual sight should manage his Cause ill; perswaded him to come in his Chair into the *Forum*, and there to repose himself till the Judges were set, and the Court fill'd: For *Cicero*,

cero as it seems was not only timorous in Arms, but began his pleadings also with fear, and scarce left trembling and shaking in some causes in the height and forms of his Oration: Being to defend *Licinins Murena* against the prosecution of *Cato*, and endeavouring to outdo *Hortensius*, who had made his plea with great applause he took so little rest that Night, and was so disorder'd with much Thought and overwatching, that he fell far short of his Antagonist. Coming forth of his Chair to undertake the Cause of *Milo*, and seeing *Pompey* placed above as in a Camp, and Arms shining round about the *Forum*, he was so confounded, that he could hardly begin his Speech for the trembling of his Body, and assistance of his Tongue: But *Milo* appear'd at the tryal brisk and confident, disdaining either to let his hair grow, or to put on the mourning habit, which seems to be the principal cause of his condemnation.

And yet *Cicero* in these things was rather thought to be concern'd for his Friend than timorous. He was afterwards made one of those Priests whom the *Romans* call *Augurs*, in the room of *Crassus* the younger dead in *Parthia*, and having by lot obtain'd the Province of *Cilicia*, he set sail thither with twelve thousand Foot, and two thousand six hundred Horse, he had orders also to reduce *Capadocia* to the love and obedience of *Antiochus* their King, which settlement he effected

effected with great acceptance without Arms; and perceiving the *Cilicians*, by the great loss the *Romans* had suffer'd in *Parthia*, and the Commotions in *Syria*, grown insolent; he reduced them into good Temper, by a gentle Government. He receiv'd no Presents, tho' sent him by Kings: He remitted the Province the charge of Publick Suppers; but entertained daily at his own House the ingenious and accomplished Men of the better Quality, not Sumptuously, but Liberally. His House had no Porter, nor was he seen in Bed by any Man; but early in the Morning standing or walking before his Door, he courteously received those that visited him.

He never commanded any to be beaten with Rods, nor to have their Garments rent: He never gave contumelious Language in his Anger, nor inflicted Punishment with Reproach. When he found any of the Publick Monies purloin'd, he enriched the Cities with it; and those who voluntarily made Restitution, without any further Punishment, he preserved entire in their Reputation. He made a little effort of War, and drove out the Thieves which infested the Mount *Amantius*, for which he was saluted by his Army Imperator. To *Cælius* the Orator, desiring

* * *

siring him to send him some Panthers from *Cilicia*, to be expos'd on the Theatre at *Rome*, with Boasting reflecting on his own Actions he wrote that there were no Panthers in *Cilicia*, for they were all fled to *Caria* in Anger, that in so general a Peace they were left the only Subjects of his Arms.

Leaving his Province for a time, he touched at *Rhodes*, but more willingly tarried at *Athens*, with a desire of renewing his old Studies; where he visited the most eminent Men of Learning, and saluted his Friends and Familiars; and being deservedly Honour'd in *Greece*, he return'd to his own City, where Affairs were just as it were in a flame, breaking out into a Civil War. When the Senate would have decreed him a Triumph, he told them, He had rather, so Differences were accommodated, follow the Triumphant Chariot of *Cæsar*. In private, he gave Advice to both; writing many things to *Cæsar*, and entreating several of *Pompey*; mollifying, perswading, and exhorting each of them: But when matters became incurable, and *Cæsar* was approaching *Rome*, *Pompey* durst not abide it, but with many honest Citizens left the City: *Cicero* avoided the flight, and seem'd to adhere to *Cæsar*, tho' it is very

very evident he was in his Thoughts much divided, and wavered betwixt both; for thus he writes in his Epistles: *To which side should I turn? Pompey has an honest and specious Pretence for War, but Cæsar has managed his Affairs better, and is more able to secure himself and his Friends; so that I know whom I should flee, not whom I should fly to.* But when *Trebatius*, one of *Cæsar's* Friends, by Letter signified to him, That *Cæsar* thought it was his Interest to secure himself on his side, and to be Partaker of his Hopes; but if his Age would not permit that, that he should retire into *Greece*, and there abide and enjoy his Quiet, remote from either Party. *Cicero*, wondring that *Cæsar* did not write himself, answer'd in Anger, That he would do nothing unworthy of those things he had already done in Publick Affairs.

After this manner therefore he writes in his Epistles. *But as soon as Cæsar was marched into Spain, he immediately takes Shipping to go to Pompey; and he was very acceptable to all the rest but Cato, who taking him privately, chid him for joyning himself to Pompey: As for himself, he said, it had been very undecent, to have forsaken that part of the Common-wealth which he had chosen from the beginning; but he*

might have been more useful to his Country and Friends, if remaining Neuter, he had attended and governed the Event, and not without Reason or Necessity have made himself an Enemy to Cæsar, and partner of so great Dangers.

By these sayings, Cicero's mind was partly changed, but principally because Pompey made no great use of him; altho' indeed he was himself the cause of it, by professing he repented his coming, by deriding Pompey's Preparations, by despising his Counsels, and not forbearing Jeers and pleasant Reflections upon his fellow-Souldiers: For whilest he walked sowe and melancholy in the Camp, he was always endeavouring to move Laughter in others, who had as little reason to be merry, as himself. And here it may not be amiss to relate some few of those Jest. To Demetrius, preferring one to a Command, who was no Souldier, and saying in his defence, that he was a Modest and Prudent Person; he reply'd, Why did not you keep him then for a Tutor for your Children? Some commending Theophanes the Lesbian, who was Master of the Works in the Camp, for that he had excellently comforted the Rhodians after the loss of their Fleet: What an extraordinary thing, said he, it is

is to have a Greek Officer? When Cæsar had done many things successfully, and in a manner besieged Pompey, Lentulus was saying, it was reported, that Cæsar's Friends were melancholy: You mean, says Cicero, they are wishing ill to Cæsar. To one Marcius, newly come from Italy, and telling them, That there was a strong report at Rome, that Pompey was blockt up; he said, and therefore you sail'd hither, that you might see it with your own Eyes, and believe it. To Nonius, encouraging them after a Defeat to be of good hope, because there were seven Eagles still left in Pompey's Camp: You encourage well, said Cicero, if we were to fight with Jack-daws. Labienus demonstrating from Divination, that Pompey was to be Conquerour: Yes, said Cicero, and by trusting to this Stratagem, we have already lost our Camp.

After the Battel of Pharsalia was over (at which he was not present, for want of Health) and Pompey was fled, Cato having considerable Forces, and a great Fleet at Dyrrachium, would have had Cicero Commanded in Chief, according to Law, and the Precedence of his Consular Dignity. But Cicero refusing the Command, and wholly avoiding to joyn with their Arms, was very near being

slain; young *Pompey* and his Friends calling him Traytor; and drawing their Swords upon him, had slain him, had not *Cato* interposed; and hardly rescued and brought him out of the Camp.

Afterwards arriving at *Brundisium*, he tarried there some time, in expectation of *Cæsar*, who linger'd because of his Affairs in *Asia* and *Aegypt*; and when it was told him, that he was arrived at *Tarentum*, and was coming thence by Land to *Brundisium*; he hastened towards him, not altogether without Hope, and yet in some Fear of making experiment of the temper of an Enemy and Conquerour in a publick Presence. But there was no necessity for him, either to speak or do any thing unworthy of himself. For *Cæsar*; as soon as he saw him coming a good way before, the rest of the Company to meet him, made his descent towards him, and saluted him; and leading the way, discoursed with him alone for many Furlongs; and from that time forward continued to treat him with Honour and Respect: So that when *Cicero* wrote an Oration in praise of *Cato*, *Cæsar* writing against it, took occasion of commending the Eloquence and Life of *Cicero*, as most exactly resembling that of *Pericles* and *Themamenes*. *Cicero's* Oration was called *Cato*; *Cæsar's*, *Anti-Cato*. It

It is reported, that when *Quintus Ligarius* was prosecuted for having been one in Arms against *Cæsar*, and *Cicero* had undertaken his Defence, *Cæsar* said to his Friends, what hinders, but * *that after* ^{* δια χρόνου,} *so long a time* we should hear *Cicero* ^{for a while.} speak? It being long since concluded, that *Ligarius* is an ill Man, and our Enemy. But when *Cicero* began to speak, he wonderfully moved him, and proceeded in his Speech with that variety of Pathos, and that admirable Grace, that the colour of *Cæsar's* Countenance often changed; and it was very evident, that all the Passions of his Soul were in Commotion. At length, the Orator touching upon the *Pharsalian* Battel, he was so transported, that his Body trembled, and some of the Papers he held dropt out of his hands; and thus being over-power'd, he acquitted *Ligarius*.

After this, the Common-wealth being changed into a Monarchy, *Cicero* withdrew himself from Publick Affairs, and employ'd his leisure in instructing those young Men, that would, in Philosophy; and by their Conversation and Acquaintance, being of the noblest and best Quality, he again got very great Power in the City. But his chief business was to Compose and Translate Philosophical

Dialogues, and to render Logical and Physical Terms into the *Roman* Idiom: For he it was, as it is said, who first or principally gave *Latin* Names to *Φαρμάκων*, *Κατάληκτος*, *Ἀπομύος*, *Ἀμύγες*, & *Κερί*, and many such other *Greek* Terms of Art, continuing by Metaphors, and other Proprieties, to render them intelligible and expressible by the *Romans*. For his Recreation, he exercised his Dexterity in Poetry; and when he was set to it, would make five hundred Verses in one Night: He spent the greatest part of his time at his Country House near *Tusculum*. He wrote to his Friends, that he led the Life of *Laertes*, either jestingly, as his Custom was, or rather through Ambition for Publick Employment, and Dislike of the present state of Affairs. He rarely went to the City, unless to pay his Court to *Cæsar*: He was commonly the first amongst those who Voted him Honours, and always forward in speaking some new thing in praise of the Man and his Actions: As that which he said of the Statues of *Pompey*; for these being defaced and thrown down, *Cæsar* had commanded to be restored, and they were so; and therefore *Cicero* said, That *Cæsar*, by this Act of Humanity, had indeed set up *Pompey's* Statues, but he had fixed and established his own.

He

He had a design, as it is reported, of writing the History of his Country, and of intermingling with it the Affairs of *Greece*, with the whole body both of their true and fabulous Stories. But he was diverted by many publick and private Affairs, and other cross Accidents; most of which seem to have befallen him by his own fault. For first of all, he put away his Wife *Terentia*, because he had been neglected by her in the time of the War, and sent away destitute of Necessaries for his Journey; neither did he find her kind when he returned into *Italy*, for she went not to *Brundisium*, where he staid a long time; nor would allow her young Daughter, who undertook so long a Journey, decent Attendance, or viatick Expences; besides, she left him a naked and empty House, and yet had involved him in many and great Debts. These were alledged, for the most specious pretences of the Divorce. But for *Terentia*, who deny'd all these things, *Cicero* himself made an evident Apology, by marrying a young Virgin not long after, for the love of her Beauty, as *Terentia* upbraided him; or as *Tyro*, his emancipated Slave hath written, for her Riches, to discharge his Debts; for the young Woman was very Rich, and *Cicero* had the Custody

Custody of her Estate, being left Guardian in Trust; and being indebted many Myriads, he was perswaded by his Friends and Relations to Marry this young Woman, notwithstanding her Age, for the present Satisfaction of his Creditors with her Money.

Antonius, mentioning this Marriage in his Answer to the *Phillippics*, reproaches him for putting away a Wife, with whom he had lived to Old Age; withal wittily upbraiding *Cicero's* sitting at home as unactive, and unsouldier-like. Not long after this Marriage, his Daughter dyed in Child-bed at *Lentulus's* House, for she was married to him after the death of *Pisa* her former Husband. The Philosophers from all parts came to comfort *Cicero*; for he took this Accident so grievously, that he put away his new-married Wife for seeming to rejoyce at the death of *Tullia*. And thus stood *Cicero's* Domestick Affairs at this time.

He had no concern in the Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, altho' *Brutus's* most principal Confident; and one who was as aggrieved at the present, and as desirous of the former state of Publick Affairs, as any other whatsoever: But the Conspirators fear'd his Temper, as wanting Courage; and his Old Age, in which the most

daring

daring Dispositions are apt to be timorous.

As soon therefore as the Fact was committed by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and the Friends of *Cæsar* were got together, so that there was fear the City would again be involved in a cruel War; *Antonius* being Consul, convened the Senate, and discoursed some things briefly tending to Accommodation: *Cicero* interposing with many things agreeable to the Occasion, perswaded the Senate to imitate the *Athenians*, and decree Oblivion for all things that were done under *Cæsar's* Authority, and to bestow Provinces on *Brutus* and *Cassius*; but neither of these things took effect.

For as soon as the Common People, of themselves inclined to Pity, saw the dead Body of *Cæsar* born through the Market-place, and *Antonius* shewing his Garments fill'd with Blood, and pierced through on every side with Swords, enraged with Fury, they made a search for the Murderers, and with fire-brands in their hands ran to their Houses, to burn them. But being fore-warned, they avoided this Danger, and expecting many more and greater attending them, they left the City: Upon this, *Antonius* was on a sudden puffed up, and looking as if

he

he would assume the Government, he became formidable to all, but most formidable to *Cicero*; for perceiving his Power again increasing in the Commonwealth, and knowing him studious of the Friendship of *Brutus*, his presence was very uneasy to him: Besides, there had been some former Jealousies betwixt them, occasioned by the unlikeness and difference of their Manners. *Cicero* fearing the event of these things, was inclined to go as Lieutenant with *Dolabella* into *Syria*. But *Hircius* and *Pansa* being designed Consuls after *Antonius*, good Men, and lovers of *Cicero*, entreated him not to leave them; undertaking to suppress *Antonius*, if he were present: But he neither wholly distrusting nor trusting them, left *Dolabella* to go without him, promising *Hircius* that he would go and spend his Summer at *Athens*, and return again when he entered upon his Office. So he took his Voyage by himself; but lingering in his Passage, such News came to him from *Rome*, as is usual in such cases, that *Antonius* repented, and was strangely changed; doing all things, and managing Publick Affairs, at the will of the Senate; and that there wanted nothing but his Presence to reduce things to a happy Settlement: And therefore blaming

blaming himself for his great Cowardise, he return'd again to *Rome*, and was not deceived in his hopes at the beginning. For such multitudes flock'd out to meet him, that the Complements and Civilities which were paid him at the Gates, and at his entrance into the City, took up almost one whole days time.

On the Morrow *Antonius* Convened the Senate, and Summoned *Cicero* thither; he came not, but kept his Bed, pretending to be ill of his Journey; but the true reason seem'd the fear of some Design against him, upon a suspicion and intimation given him on his way to *Rome*. But *Antonius* took this Affront very hainously, and sent Souldiers, commanding them to bring him, or burn his House; but many interceding, and supplicating for him, he was contented only to accept Sureties, for the payment of his Mulct for absence.

Senatori absentibus multa indicabatur, &

ante solveretur pignus ab eo capiebatur. Rosin. Antiq. pag. 1108.

Ever after, when they met they passed one another with Silence, and continued reserved; till *Cesar* the younger coming from *Apollonia*, entered upon the Inheritance of *Julius Caesar*, and had a Controversie with *Antonius* for two thousand five hundred Myriads, which he detain'd

In the Account of Antony's Debt to *Cæsar*, our Author differs both from himself and other Writers. In *Antony's Life*, the Sum *Calpurnia* entrusted with him, is 4000 Talents, here but 2500 Myriads. According to *Paterculus* and *Cicero's Philip*: The Sum is *Septies miliet Scitertium*, which amounts to above 17000 Myriads: Sums vastly different from the Account given in this Life, and more likely to be the Matter of Controversie betwixt two such Great Men.

detain'd of that Estate. Upon this, *Philip*, who married the Mother, and *Marcellus* the Sister of this *Cæsar*, came with the Young Man to *Cicero*, and agreed with him, That *Cicero* should assist with his utmost Power in Eloquence and Politicks, with the Senate and People, and *Cæsar* give *Cicero* the defence of his Riches and Arms; for at this time the Young Man had a great Party of the Veteran Souldiers of *Cæsar* about him; and *Cicero* seem'd very willing to embrace the Friendship of *Cæsar*.

For it seems, while *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were yet alive, *Cicero* in a Dream seem'd to Summon some Sons of the Senators into the Capitol, as if *Jupiter* design'd to declare one of them for a Governour of *Rome*; the Citizens with Curiosity running, stood about the Temple, and the Youth sitting in their Purple Robes, kept silence: On a sudden the Doors opened, and the Youths arising one by one in order, passed round the God, who reviewed them all, and dismiss them displeased; but this Youth passing by, the God stretched forth his Right Hand, and said, O ye Romans,

this

this Young Man, when he shall be Lord of *Rome*, shall put an end to all your cruel Wars. It is said, that *Cicero*, by this Vision in his Dream, had framed the perfect Idea of the Youth, and preserv'd it in his Mind, tho' he did not then know him. The next day going down into *Campus Martius*, he met the Boys returning from their Exercise, and the first that *Cicero* saw was he, just so as he appear'd to him in his Dream: Being astonish'd at it, he asked him, who were his Parents? And it prov'd to be this young *Cæsar*, who had for his Father *Ottavius*, one of the most Eminent Citizens; for his Mother, *Atia*, the Sister of *Cæsar*; and therefore *Cæsar* wanting Children of his own, made him by Testament Heir of his Estate and Family.

From that time, it is said that *Cicero* very studiously saluted the Youth, whenever he met him, and he as kindly received the Civility; and by Fortune he happened to be born when *Cicero* was Consul. These were the pretended Reasons; but it was principally *Cicero's* Hatred of *Antonius*, and a Temper unable to resist Honour, which fastned him to *Cæsar*, with an Opinion of uniting *Cæsar's* Power to his Publick Designs: For he had so insinuated himself into the Young Man, that

that he call'd him Father: At which thing *Brutus* was so highly displeased, that in his Epistles to *Atticus*, he reflected on *Cicero*, saying, That it was manifest, by his Courting *Cæsar* for fear of *Antonius*, he did not intend Liberty to his Country, but design'd a bountiful Master to himself. Notwithstanding, *Brutus* took *Cicero's* Son, then studying Philosophy at *Athens*, gave him a Command, and by his Advice directed much of his Affairs. At this time *Cicero's* Power was at the greatest height in the City, and he did whatsoever he pleased; for he had suppressed and driven out *Antonius*, and sent the two Consuls, *Hircius* and *Pansa*, to follow him with an Army; but perswaded the Senate to Decree to *Cæsar* the *Liētors* and *Prætorian* Ensigns, as fighting for his Country. But after *Antonius* was defeated, and both the Consuls slain, the Forces which came from the Battel joyn'd themselves with *Cæsar*. The Senate fearing the Young Man and his extraordinary Fortune, endeavoured by Honours and Gifts to call off the Souldiers from him, and to lessen his Power; pretending there was no further need of Arms, now *Antonius* was put to flight.

This giving *Cæsar* an Affright, he privately sends some Friends to entreat and per-

per-

perswade *Cicero* to procure the Consular Dignity for them both together; and that he should manage the Affairs as he pleased, have the Supream Power, and govern the Young Man, who was only desirous of Name and Glory. And *Cæsar* himself confessed, That in fear of Ruine, and in danger of being deserted, he had seasonably made use of *Cicero's* Ambition; perswading him to stand with him, assist, and joyn his Vores for the Consulship. And thus was Old *Cicero* wheedled and gull'd by the Young Man, to bring over his Suffrages, and engage the Senate on his side. His Friends soon blamed him for it; and within a little time after, he himself perceived, he was ruin'd by it, and had betray'd the Liberty of the People: For the Young Man was so exalted, by obtaining the Consular Authority, that he bad *Cicero* farewell; and reconciling himself to *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, united his Power with theirs, and divided the Government with them, as if it had been part of a common Estate. Thus united, they made a Schedule of above two hundred Persons, who were designed to be put to Death: But the Proscription of *Cicero* made the greatest Contention in all their Debates. For *Antonius* was inclinable to no Agreement, till he was

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first

first killed: To *Antonius*, *Lepidus* consented; but *Cæsar* opposed them both. Their Meetings were held alone by themselves, remote from Company, for three days, near the City of *Bononia*: The place where they met, was over against the Camp, encompassed with a River; *Cæsar*, as it is said, very earnestly contended for *Cicero* the first days; but on the third day he yielded, and gave him up. The Terms of their mutual Concessions were these; That *Cæsar* should desert *Cicero*, *Lepidus* his Brother *Paulus*, and *Antonius*, *Lucius Cæsar*, his Uncle by his Mothers side: Thus did they fall by Anger and Fury from the sense of Humanity; and demonstrated, that no Beast is more Savage than Man, when possessed with Power, answerable to his Rage. But whilst these things were contriving, *Cicero* was with his Brother at his Country House near *Tusculum*; whence, hearing of the Proscriptions, they determined to pass to *Astura*, a Ville of *Cicero's*, near the Sea, and to take shipping from thence for *Macedonia*, to *Brutus*; for there was a report, that he was strong in those Parts. They travelled together in their several Litters, oppressed with Sorrow, and often stopping on the way, till their Litters came together, miserably con-

doled

doled one another. But *Quintus* was the most disheartned, when he reflected on his want of Necessaries for his Journey; for, as he said, he had brought nothing with him from home. And even *Cicero* himself had but a slender Viatick Provision: It was adjudged therefore most expedient, that *Cicero* should make what hast he could to fly, and *Quintus* return home to provide Necessaries: And thus resolved, they mutually embraced, and parted, making great lamentation.

But *Quintus* within a few days after, betray'd by his Servants to those who came to search for him, was slain, together with his young Son: But *Cicero* was carried to *Astura*, where finding a Vessel, he immediately went on board her, and sailed as far as *Circium* with a prosperous Gale; but when the Pilots resolv'd immediately to hoise Sail from thence, whether fearing the Sea, or not wholly distrusting the Faith of *Cæsar*, he went on shore, and passed by Land a hundred Furlongs, as if he were going for *Rome*; but wanting Resolution, and changing his Mind, he again returned to Sea, and there spent his Night in melancholy and perplexed Thoughts: Sometimes he resolved to go into *Cæsar's* House privately, and there kill himself upon the Altar of

†† 2

his

his Household-Gods, to bring Divine Vengeance upon his Family ; but the fear of Torture put him off this course. And again revolving in his mind other troublesome and uncertain Resolutions, at last he yielded himself to his Servants to be carried by Sea to *Capua*, where he had a Country House, and a pleasant Retirement in the Spring, when the Easterly Winds blow sweetest.

There was in that place a Chappel of *Apollo's* not far from the Sea-side, from which a great flight of Crows, arising with great noise, made towards *Cicero's* Ship as it rowed to Land, and lighting on both sides of the Cross Yard, some croaked, others pecked the ends of the Sails. This was looked upon by all as an ill Omen ; and therefore *Cicero* went again on shoar, and entering his House, lay down upon his Bed, to compose himself to Rest : Many of the Crows sat about the Windows, making a horrid noise ; but one of them light upon the Bed where *Cicero* lay covered up, and with its Bill by little and little peckt off the Clothes from his face. His Servants seeing this, blamed themselves, that they should stay to be Spectators of their Master's Murder, and do nothing in his Defence, whilst the Brute Creatures did assist and take care

of

of him in his undeserved Affliction : And therefore, partly by Entreaty, partly by Force, they took him up, and carried him in his Litter towards the Sea-side.

But in the mean time the Assassins were come with a band of Souldiers, *Herennius* the Centurion, and *Popilius* the Tribune (whom *Cicero* had formerly defended, when prosecuted for the Murder of his Father) finding the Doors shut, they brake them open, where *Cicero* not appearing, and those within saying, they knew not where he was ; it is reported, that a Youth, who had been Educated by *Cicero* in the Liberal Arts and Sciences, an emancipated Slave of his Brother *Quintus*, *Philologus* by Name, discover'd to the Tribune, that the Litter was carrying to the Sea through the close and shady Walks : The Tribune, taking a few with him, ran to the place where he was to come out. As soon as *Cicero* perceived *Herennius* running in the Walks after him, he commanded his Servants there to set down the Litter ; and stroking his Chin, as he used to do, with his left Hand, he looked stedfastly upon his Murderers. His Face was over-grown with Dust and Hair, and worn away with Cares ; so that the greatest part of those that stood by, covered their faces whilst

Heren-

Herennius slew him: And thus was he murdered, stretching forth his Neck out of the Litter, and being that very Year threescore and four years old. *Herennius* cut off his Head, and by *Antonius's* Command, his Hands also, by which his *Philippics* were written; for so *Cicero* stiled those Orations he wrote against *Antonius*, and so they are called to this day. When these Members of *Cicero* were brought to *Rome*, *Antonius* was holding an Assembly for the choice of Publick Officers; and when he heard it, and saw them, he cry'd out, Now let there be an end of all our Proscriptions.

He commanded his Head and Hands to be fastned up over the *Rostra* of the Orators; a horrid sight to the *Roman* People, who believed they saw there not the Face of *Cicero*, but the Image of *Antonius* his Soul. And yet amidst these Actions he did Justice in one thing, by delivering up *Philologus* to *Pomponia*, the Wife of *Quintus*; who having got his Body into her Power, besides other grievous punishments she used, made him cut off his own flesh by pieces, and boyl and eat it; for so some Writers have reported: But *Tyro*, *Cicero's* emancipated Slave, has not so much as mentioned the Treachery of *Philologus*.

Some

Some while after, as I have heard, *Caesar* visiting his Daughters Son, found him with a Book of *Cicero's* in his Hand; the Boy for fear endeavour'd to hide it under his Gown; which *Caesar* perceiving, took it from him, and turning over a great part of the Book standing, gave it him again, and said, My Child, this was a learned man, and a lover of his Country.

But as soon as he had vanquished *Antonius*, being then Consul, he made *Cicero's* Son his Colleague in that Office, in whose Consulship the Senate took down all the Statues of *Antonius*, and defaced all the other Monuments of his Honour; and decreed that none of that Family should hereafter bear the Name of *Marcus*. Thus did the Divine Powers devolve the finishing their Revenge of *Antonius* upon the House of *Cicero*.

†*† 4

The

The Comparison of Demosthenes and Cicero.

These are the most memorable of those things delivered in History of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, which have come to our knowledge: But omitting an exact Comparison of their several Faculties in Speaking, yet thus much seems fit to be said: That *Demosthenes*, to make himself a Master in Rhetorick, had applied all the Knowledge he had natural, or acquired, wholly that way: That he far surpassed in force and strength of Eloquence all his Contemporaries, in Harangue and Pleading Causes; in Gravity and Magnificence of Style, all that were eminent of the Demonstrative, and in Accuracy and Artifice, all of the Sophistick way. That *Cicero* was very Learned, and by diligent Study a general Scholar: That he hath indeed left behind him many Philosophical Treatises of his own in the Academick way: But yet it is very evident, that in all his Speeches and Pleadings he affected to make Ostentation of his Learning. And one may discover the different Temper of each of them in their Speeches: For *Demosthenes* his Oratory

Oratory was without all embellishment and jesting, wholly composed to Gravity and Seriousness; not smelling of the Lamp, as *Pythias* scoffingly said, but of the Temperance, Thoughtfulness, Austerity, and Melancholy of his Temper. But *Cicero*, by his jeering Humour, was often carried out to Scurrility; and by disguising serious Arguments at the Bar with jests and laughter, for the Advantage of his Client; he had no regard to what was decent: As that he said in defence of *Celins*, That he had done no absurd thing in such plenty and delicacy to indulge himself in Pleasures; it being a kind of Madness, not to enjoy those things we possess, especially since the most eminent Philosophers have asserted Pleasure to be the chiefest Good. It is reported, That when *Cicero* being Consul, undertook the defence of *Murena* against *Cato's* Prosecution, that upon *Cato's* account he said many things Comically against the Stoical Sect, for the absurdities of their Paradoxes, as they called them; so that a loud laughter passing from the Croud to the Judges; *Cato* with a gentle smile said to those that sat next him, O Gentlemen, what a ridiculous Consul have we!

And

And indeed *Cicero* was by a natural Temper very much disposed to Mirth, and delighted in Jeering, and always appear'd with a smiling and serene Countenance. But *Demosthenes* had constant Care and Thoughtfulness in his Look; which he seldom or never laid aside; and therefore was accounted by his Enemies, as he himself confesseth, morose and ill-manner'd.

And it is very evident out of their several Writings, that this never touched upon his own Praises, but decently and without offence, when there was need of it, and for some weightier end; but upon other occasions modestly and sparingly. But *Cicero's* immeasurable boasting of himself in his Orations, did proclaim in him an intemperate Thirst after Glory: As when he cry'd out,

*Let Arms resign their Honour to the Gown,
And to the Tongue the Victor throw his
Lawrels down.*

But at last he did not only extol his own Deeds and Actions, but his Orations also, as well those that were only spoken, as those that were published; as if he were vying youthful Confidence with *Isocrates* and *Anaximenes*, the Sophisters; not as if

if he were instructing and directing the Roman People, the hardy, warlike, and irresistible *Romans*.

It is necessary indeed for a States-man to be an able Speaker; but it is an ignoble thing for any man to admire and relish the glory of his own Eloquence. And in this matter *Demosthenes* had a more than ordinary Gravity and Magnificence of Mind; accounting his Talent in speaking but a mean Acquirement, which needed great Candor in the Audience, and adjudging those which are puffed up by such Reflections, to be, as indeed they are, Servile and Mechanical. But the power of perswading and governing the People did equally belong to both; so that those who had Armies and Camps at Command, stood in need of their assistance; as *Chares Diopithes* and *Leosthenes* of *Demosthenes's*, *Pompey* and young *Cesar* of *Cicero's*, as *Cesar* acknowledges in his Commentaries to *Agrippa* and *Mecenas*.

But what is thought and commonly said most to demonstrate and try the Tempers of Men, viz. Authority and Place, by moving every Passion, and discovering every Frailty, never happened to *Demosthenes*; nor had he the occasion of giving such Proof of himself, having
never

never obtained any eminent Office, nor led any of those Armies into the Field against *Philip*, which he rais'd by his Eloquence.

But *Cicero* was sent Quæstor into *Sicily*, and Proconsul into *Cilicia* and *Cappadocia*, at a time when Avarice was at the height, and the Commanders and Governours who were employ'd abroad, thinking it a mean thing to steal, set themselves to seize by open force; so that it seem'd no hainous matter to take Bribes: But he that did it most moderately, was in good Esteem; and yet then gave great demonstration of his contempt of Riches, and as great of his Humanity and good Nature.

And at *Rome* also, when he was created Consul in Name, but indeed received Sovereign and Dictatorian Authority against *Catiline* and his Conspirators; he attested the truth of *Plato's* Prediction, That then the miseries of States would be at an end, when by a happy Fortune the Supream Power with Wisdom and Justice should meet together in the same Subject.

It is said to the Reproach of *Demosthenes*, that his Eloquence was mercenary; that he privately made Orations for *Phormio* and *Apollodorus*, though Adversaries
in

in the same Cause; That he was charged with Monies received from the Kings of *Persia*, and condemned for Bribes from *Harpalus*: And should we grant all those that have written these things against him (which are not a few) to have falsified; yet it cannot be denyed, but that *Demosthenes* wanted Courage to look off of those Presents which in Respect and Gratitude were sent him from the *Persian* Kings; and that one addicted to * *Mari-* * Our English
time Usury, was like to do otherwise. Merchants call
it Bottomry.

Usuræ nauticæ pro magnis in proverbium abiire, vid. Chil. Eras. Usuræ nauticæ est infinita, est enim pensatio suscepti periculi, hodie ex institutione Justiniani est centesima, vid. Calu. Lexicon. Apud Athenienses ναυπηγος ἄνος fuit ἐνὶ πνεύματι, id est, quintarius nempe in quintam sortis partem quod vulgo dicimus viginti in centum. Salmasius de Usura, p. 188. Lugd. Bat. 1639. Usuræ communes Atticis majores, nauticæ minores quàm Romanis, rationem dat Salmasius, quia Navigationes Athenienses omnes scire Bosphorum petebant, qui longissimæ Pontum. Salmas. Ibidem.

But that *Cicero* did refuse from the *Sicilians* when he was Quæstor, from the King of *Cappadocia* when he was Proconsul, and from his Friends at *Rome* when he was in Exile, many Presents, though urged to receive them, has been said already. Moreover, *Demosthenes* his Banishment was infamous, upon Conviction for Bribery; *Cicero's* very Honourable, for ridding his Country of pernicious Fellows; and therefore his Banishment was not at all regarded: But for this man's
sake

take the Senate changed their Habit, and put on Mourning, and would not be persuaded to make any Act before *Cicero's* return were decreed. And yet *Cicero* passed his Exile, sitting down idly in *Macedonia*: But the very Exile of *Demosthenes* made up a great part of the Services he did for his Country; for whilst he travelled the Cities of *Greece*, he every where, as we have said, assisted the *Grecians*, driving out the *Macedonian* Legats, and approving himself a much better Citizen than *Themistocles* and *Alcibiades* did in the like Fortune. And after his return, he again apply'd himself to the same Publick Services, and continued opposing *Antipater* and the *Macedonians*. But *Lesbius* reproacheth *Cicero* in the Senate, for sitting silent, when *Cæsar*, a beardless Youth, asked leave to put in for the Consulship against Law: And *Brutus*, in his Epistles, charges him with cherishing a greater, and more heavy Tyranny, than that they had removed.

But above all, none but must pity *Cicero's* Death; for an Old Man to be carried up and down by the kindness of his Servants, to flie and hide himself from that Death which was so near at hand, and yet at last to be Murdered.

But

But *Demosthenes*, tho' he seem'd at first a little to supplicate, yet his preparing, and keeping the Poison by him, was admirable; but more admirable the using of it: For when the God afforded him not a Sanctuary, by flying to a greater Altar, he got away from Arms and Guards, and laughed at the Cruelty of *Antipater*.

THE

ARATUS.



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THE
LIFE
OF
ARATUS.

Translated from the Greek,
By JOHN BATEMAN, M.D.

VOLUME V.

THE Philosopher *Chrysippus*, O *Polycrates*, quotes an ancient Proverb, not as really it should be, apprehending, I suppose, that it sounded too harshly, but so as he thought it would run best in these words,
Who Fathers praise except their generous Sons? Who may be allowed to praise their Ancesters?
But *Dionysiodorus* the *Træzænian* correcting him, restores the true one which is thus,
Who

Who Fathers praise except degenerate Sons?
Telling us, that this Proverb stops the
mouth of those, who having no merit of
their own, deck themselves with the Ver-
tues of their Ancesters, and are putt up
with their praises. But, as *Pindar* hath it,

*He that by Nature doth inherit
From Ancesters a noble Spirit.*

(as thou thy self, who in thy life copyest
out the fairest *Originals* of thy Family,)
Such, I say, may take great satisfaction in of-
ten hearing and speaking of the best of their
Progenitors; for they assume not the glo-
ry of other mens Praises for want of worth
of their own, but uniting both in one, cele-
brate them, as the Authors both of their
Descent and Manners; wherefore I have
sent unto thee the Life which I have writ-
ten of thy Fellow Citizen and Progenitor
Aratus, whom thou comest no way short
of either in esteem or Power. Not that
thou hast not been most diligently careful
to inform thy self from the beginning con-
cerning his Actions, but that thy Sons *Pe-
lycrates* and *Pythocles* may be bred up by do-
mestick examples, hearing and reading such
things as are fit for their imitation. 'For
'it is a peice of self conceit, not noble emu-
'lation to think ones self already arriv'd
'at the highest pitch of improvement.

The

The City of *Sicyon*, from the time that
it first fell off from a meer *Dorick Aristocracy*,
(its harmony being thereby quite con-
founded, into the Seditions and Contests
of the *Demagogues*) continued to be di-
stemper'd and unsettled, changing from one
Tyrant to another, till *Cleon* being slain,
Timocidas and *Clinias*, Men of the most re-
pute and power amongst the Citizens, were
chosen Governours; and the Common-
wealth now seeming to be in a pritty set-
tled condition, *Timocidas* died, and *Aban-
tidas* the Son of *Pascas*, to possess himself
of the Tyranny, kill'd *Clinias*; and of his
Kindred and Friends, slew some, and ba-
nished others. He saught also to kill his
Son *Aratus*, whom he left behind him, be-
ing but seven years old. This Boy in the
hurly burly, getting out of the House with
those that fled, and wandring about the
City helpless and in great fear, by chance,
got undiscovered into the House of a Wo-
man, who was *Abantidas* his Sister, but mar-
ried to *Prophantus*, the Brother of *Clinias*,
her name was *Soso*. She being of a gene-
rous temper, and believing the Boy had
by some special Providence, fled to her for
shelter, hid him in the House, and at night
sent him away to *Argos*. *Aratus* being thus
deliver'd, and secured from this danger, he
immediately conceiv'd, and ever after nou-

*The Govern-
ment and
State of the
City of Si-
cyon.*

*Aratus's
narrow e-
scape.*

A a 2

rished

His Educa-
tion at
Argos.

rished a vehement and fervent hatred against *Tyrants*; being therefore bred up amongst his fathers acquaintance and friends at *Argos* after an ingenuous manner; and perceiving his body to bud forth in good constitution and stature, he addicted himself to the Exercises of the *Palastra*, to that degree, that he strove in the publick Games, and came off Conquerour; and indeed in his Statues one may observe a certain kind of *Athletick cast*, and the gravity and Majesty of his countenance does not dissemble his full dyet, and the use of rough exercise. Whence it came to pass that he less studyed Eloquence then perhaps became a man bred up to the administration of Civil affairs, and yet that he was more polite in speaking than many do believe, Some collect from those *Commentaries*, which he hath left, tho' penned carelessly and extempore, and in such words as first came to his mind; some time after *Dimias* and *Aristotle* the Logician kill'd *Abantidas*, who using to be present in the Market-place at their disputes, and to make one in them, they insensibly accustomed him to this practice and so had opportunity to lay an Ambush for him. After him *Paseas* the Father of *Abantidas* taking upon him the government was slain by the treachery of *Nicocles*, who himself set up for Tyrant; it is reported

ted that he was extremely like to *Periander* the Son of *Cypselus*, as it is said that *Orontes* the *Persian* did much resemble *Alcemon* the Son of *Amphiarans*; and a Lacedemonian youth, *Hector*; whom *Myrsilus* relates to have been trode to pieces by the crowd of those that came to see him upon that report; this *Nicocles* governed four months, in which after he had exceedingly plagued the City, he was very near losing it by a stratagem of the *Aetolians*. By this time *Aratus*, being grown a youth, was in much esteem, both for his noble birth and parts, which shewed themselves neither small nor unactive, but beyond his age tempered with firmness of resolution, for which reason the *Exiles* had their eyes most upon him, nor did *Nicocles* less observe his motions, but secretly spyed and watched him, not out of apprehension of any considerable or dangerous attempt, but suspecting he held correspondence with the Kings, who were his Fathers friends and acquaintance. And indeed *Aratus* first attempted this way: but finding that *Antigonus*, who had promised fair, neglected him and delay'd the time, and that his hopes from *Egypt* and *Ptolomy* were too remote, he determined to cut off the Tyrant by himself; and first he broke his mind to *Aristomachus* and *Ecdelus* the one an *Exile* of *Sicyon*, the other namely

Acdelus an *Arcadian* of *Megalopolis*, a Philosopher, and a daring man, having been the familiar friend of *Arcefilaus* the *Academick* at *Athens*. These readily consenting, he communicated himself to the other *Exiles*, wherereof some few being ashamed to seem to despair of success ingag'd in the design, but most of them endeavour'd to divert him from his purpose as one that for want of experience was too rash and daring.

Now whilst he was consulting to seize upon some Post in *Sicyonia*, from whence he might make war upon the *Tyrant*, there came to *Argos* a certain *Sicyonian* newly escap'd out of Prison, Brother to *Xenocles* one of the *Exiles*, who being by him presented to *Aratus*, he informed him, that that part of the Wall over which he escap'd was within almost level to the ground, adjoyning to a rocky and elevated place, and that without, it might be scaled with Ladders. *Aratus* hearing this, dispatches away *Xenocles* with two of his Servants, *Seuthas* and *Technon* to view the wall, resolving, if he could do it secretly and with one risque, to hazard all at one push rather than as a private person to oppose the *Tyrant* by long War and open force. *Xenocles* therefore with his Companions returning, and having taken the height of the Wall, and declaring the place not to be

Aratus attempts to free Sicyon.

be difficult of access, but that it was not easie to approach it undiscovered by reason of some small but very curs'd Curs, that a Gardiner kept hard by, he immediately undertook the business. Now the preparation of arms gave no jealousy, because Robberies and incursions were then used on all hands, and for the Ladders, *Euphranor* a Carpenter made them openly, his trade rendering him unsuspected, tho one of the *Exiles*. As for men, each of his friends in *Argos* furnished him with ten a piece out of those few they had, and he set out thirty of his own servants, and he hired some few Souldiers of *Xenophilus* the chief of the Captains of the Robbers, to whom it was given out, that they were to march into the Territories of *Sicyon* to seize the Kings Stud, and many of them were sent before by contrary ways to the Tower of *Polignotus*, with orders to stay there; *Caphesias* also was dispatched away before hand lightly armed with four others, who were, as soon as it was dark, to come to the Gardiners house, pretending to be Traveliers, and lodging there to shut up him and his Dogs, for there was no other way to the City; and for the Ladders, they being made to take in pieces, were put into Chests, and sent before hidden upon Waggons, in the mean time some of *Nicocles* his spies appearing in *Ar-*

gos, and being said to go privately about watching *Aratus*, he came by day break into the Market place shewing himself openly conversing with his friends; then being anointed in the place for Exercises, and taking with him thence some of those young men that used to drink and spend their time with him, he went home, and presently after several of his servants were seen about the Market place; some carrying Garlands, some buying Flambeaus, some speaking to the Women that used to sing and play at Banquets; which things the Spies observing were deceiv'd, and said, laughing to one another, *That certainly nothing was more timorous than a Tyrant, if Nicocles being master of so great a City and so great power, stood in fear of a youth, that spent what he had to subsist upon in his banishment in pleasures and day debauches*, and being thus cheated returned home.

He marches
towards
Sycion.

But *Aratus* immediately after dinner departing, and coming to his Souldiers at *Polygnotus's* Tower, led them to *Nemea*; where he discovered to them his true design, and having made them many large promises and speeches, he marched towards the City, giving for the word *Propitious Apollo*, proportioning his march to the motion of the Moon, so as to have the benefit of her Light upon the way, and to be at the Gardiners house which

which was close to the wall, just as she was set. Here *Capheas* came to him, who could not catch the dogs which run away from him; but had made sure of the Gardiner. Upon which most of the company being out of heart, and desiring to retreat, *Aratus* encourag'd them to go on, promising them to retire in case the Dogs were too troublesome, and at the same time sending before those that carry'd the ladders, conducted by *Ecdelus* and *Minastheus*, he follow'd them himself leisurely, the Dogs already barking very loud, and baying at *Ecdelus* and his Companions; however they got to the wall and reared the ladders with all safety. But as the foremost men were mounting them, the Captain of the Watch that was to be releiv'd by the morning Guard, pass'd by that way at the sound of a little bell, with many torches, and a great deal of noise, hearing which they clapt themselves close to the ladders, and so were un-observ'd, but the other Watch coming to meet this, they were in extreme danger of being discover'd. But having escap'd that also, immediately *Minastheus*, and *Ecdelus* got upon the wall, and possessing themselves of the passages each way, they sent away *Technon* to *Aratus* desiring him to make all the hast he could. Now there was no great distance from the Garden to the wall and a certain tower in which

which a great Grey-hound was kept. Yet he heard them not as they marched forward, whether being naturally drowsy, or else overwearyed the day before, but the Gardiners Currs awaking him, he first began to grumble, and then as they pass'd by to bark out aloud, and the barking was now so great, that a *Sentinel* that was further off called out to the Dogkeeper, to know why the Dog kept such a barking, and whether any thing had happened. Who answer'd that it was nothing, but only that his Dog fell a barking at the lights of the watch, and the noise of the Bell. This replye much encouraged *Aratus* Soldiers, who thought the Dogkeeper was privy to their design, and therefore conceal'd what was passing; and that many others in the City were of the conspiracy. But when they came to scale the wall, the attempt then appear'd both to require time, and to be full of danger, for the ladders shook and bent extremly if they mounted them not leisurely, and one by one, and time press'd, for the Cocks began to crow, and the Country people that us'd to bring things to the market were upon coming to the Town. wherefore *Aratus* hastied to get up himself, forty only of the company being already upon the wall, and staying but for a few more of those that were below, he made

strait

strait to the *Tyrants* palace, and the main guard where his mercenary Soldiers kept watch, and coming suddenly upon them, and taking them prisoners without killing any one of them, he immediately sent to all his Friends to desire them to come to him, which they did from all Quarters: By this time the day began to brake, and the Theater was full of the multitude that were held in suspense, by uncertain reports, and knew nothing distinctly of what had happen'd, untill a *Publick Cryer* going before him proclaim'd that *Aratus* the Son of *Clinias* invited the Citizens to recover their liberty, and then beleiving that what they so long looked for, was now come to passe, they press'd in throngs to the *Tyrants* gates to set them on fire, and so great was the flame of the house, now all on fire, that it was seen as far as *Corinth*; so that the *Corinthians* wondring what the matter should be, were upon the point to have come to their assistance. Now *Nicocles* fled away secretly out of the City by meanes of certain underground passages, and the Soldiers helping the *Sicyonians* to quench the fire plunder'd the Palace. This *Aratus* hindred not; but divided also the rest of the riches of the *Tyrants* amongst the Citizens. In this exploit not one of those ingag'd in it, was slain, nor any of the contrary party, fortune so ordering

Delivers the City without bloodshed.

ordering the action as to be clear and free from civil bloodshed. Of the *Exiles* he restored fourscore expell'd by *Nicoles*, and no less than five hundred of those that were driven out by former *Tyrants*, and had indured a long and near fifty years banishment. These returning most of them very poor were impatient to enter upon their former possessions, and retiring to their several country farms and houses, gave occasion of great perplexity to *Aratus*, who consider'd that the City without was envy'd for its liberty, and aimed at by *Antigonus*, and within was full of disorder and sedition; wherefore as things stood, he thought it best to associate it to the *Achaean Community*; for being *Dorians* they willingly took upon them the name and polity of the *Acheans*, who at that time had neither great authority nor power. For the most of them liv'd in small Towns, and their Territory was neither large nor fruitful, and the neighbouring Sea was without Ports, entering the Land for the most part in rocky Creeks. And yet these made it evidently appear that the Grecian force was invincible when so ever it met with order and concord within it's self, and a prudent General; for though they were the most inconsiderable part of the antient Grecian power, not equalling the strength of an ordinary City, yet by prudence

And associates it to the Achæans.

dence and unanimity, and because they knew how not to envy and maligne but to obey and follow him amongst them, that was most eminent for vertue, they not only preserv'd their own liberty in the midst of so great and powerful Cities and Dominions, but deliver'd from slavery the most part of *Greece*.

As for *Aratus* he was in his behaviour an exact Common wealths-man, generous, more intent upon the publick than his private concerns, a bitter hater of *Tyrants*, making the common good the measure of his friendships and enmities, so that he seems not to have been so true a Friend, as a courteous and gentle Enemy, suiting himself to all opportunities for the sake of the Commonwealth. So that the consent of Nations and community of Cities, the *Senate*, the *Theater* do with one voice proclaim that *Aratus* was a lover of nothing but noble actions. He was indeed backward and diffident to make use of war and open force; but for secret attempts and suddain surprizing of Cities and *Tyrants* most politick and dexterous. Wherefore though he effected many things beyond hope which he undertook, yet he seems to have left no lesse unattempted, though feasible enough, for want of assurance; "for it should seem "that as the sight of certain beasts is strong "in the night but dim by day, the ten-
"derness

The Character of Aratus.

“ derneſſe of the humors of their eyes not bearing the mixture of the light : So the genius of ſome men though eaſily daunted as to things to be attempted in the ſight of the Sun, is yet very daring in ſecret and covert enterprizes, which inequality is occaſion- ed in noble minds for want of *Philofophy*, whence is produced a certain wild and uncultivated vertue without true knowledg as may be made out by many examples.

Aratus therefore having aſſociated him- ſelf and his City to the *Acheans*, ſerving in the Cavalry was much belov'd by his Offi- ciers for his exact obedience, for though he had made ſo large an addition to the *Community*, as that of his own credit, and the power of his Country, yet he was as ready to be commanded by any of the *Ache- an* Generals, whether of *Dyma* or *Trita*, or though of never ſo mean a City, as the moſt common Soldier. Having alſo a pre- ſent of five and twenty Talents ſent him from the King he took them, but gave them all to his poor Fellow Citizens, as well for other uſes as the redeeming of Captives. But the *Exiles* being by no meanes to be ſatis- fy'd, diſturbg continually thoſe that were in poſſeſſion of their Eſtates, the City was in great danger of falling into civil diſſenſi- ons. Having therefore no hope left him, but from the kindneſs of *Ptolomy* he reſolved

to ſail thither, and to beg ſo much money of the King as would ſatisſie all parties. So he ſet ſail from *Methone* above the foreland of *Malea*, as deſigning to paſſe through the channel there. But the Pilot not being a- ble to keep the Veſſel up againſt the ſtrong Wind and high Seas, he was turned from his courſe, and with much ado got to *Adria*, an Enemy's Town; for it was poſſeſſ'd by *Antigonius*, who had a Garriſon there. To avoid which he immediately landed, and leaving the Ship went up into the Country a good way from the Sea, having along with him only one Friend called *Timantbes*, ſo hiding them- ſelves in a certain woody place they had but an ill nights reſt of it. Not long after the Governour came, and inquiring for *Aratus* was deceiv'd by his Servants, being inſtructed to ſay, that he was fled into the Iſland of *Eubæa*; wherefore he declared the Ship, the Cargo, and Servants to be Lawful prize and detain'd them accordingly. As for *A- ratus* he being after ſome days reduced to extremity, by good fortune a Roman Ship happen'd to put in juſt in the place where he continued ſometimes peeping out to diſco- ver the coaſt, ſometimes keeping cloſe; ſhe was bound for *Syria*. And going aboard he agreed with the Maſter to land him in *Caria*: In which voyage he met with no leſſe danger then before. From *Caria*, being after much

He ſailes
into Egypt.

much time arrived in *Egypt*, he immediately went to *the King*, who had a great kindness for him by reason of the presents he used to send him of drawings and pictures out of *Greece*. In which *Aratus* having very good judgment did usually present him with some of the most curious and best done, especially those of *Pamphilus* and *Melanthus* making collections of them at any rate.

The Sicyonian Painting in much esteem.

For the *Sicyonian* pieces were even then in great esteem as being the only ones, whose colours were lasting, so that the so much admired *Apelles* himself went thither and gave a Talent to be admitted into the society of the Painters there, not to partake of their skill which he wanted not, but of their credit, wherefore *Aratus* when he freed the City immediately took down the Statues of the rest of the *Tyrants*, but he demurred a long time about that of *Aristratus*, who flourished in the time of *Philip*. For this *Aristratus* was painted by *Melanthus*'s People, standing by a Chariot in which *VICTORY* was carryed, *Apelles* himself having a hand in it, as *Polemon Periegetes* reports. It was an extraordinary piece, and therefore *Aratus* was inclinable to spare it for the workmanship, but then instigated by the hatred he bore the *Tyrants*, commanded it to be taken down; But here, as it is reported, *Nealcus* the Painter, one of

of *Aratus*'s Friends intreated him with teares in his eyes to spare it, and finding that he could not prevaile, said to him, that *Warr was to be waged with the Tyrants themselves, not with their pictures*. Therefore let alone the Chariot and the Victory, and I will cause *Aristratus* to vanish out of the piece. Which *Aratus*, consenting to, *Nealcus* blotted out *Aristratus* and instead thereof painted a Palmetree, not daring to adde any thing else of his own invention; the feet of the defaced figure of *Aristratus* are said to be hid under the Chariot. By the meanes therefore of Pictures *Aratus* was in favour with the King, who after he was more fully acquainted with him loved him so much the more, and gave him for the relief of his City one hundred and fifty Talents: forty whereof he immediately carry'd away with him, when he sailed to *Peloponnesus*, but the rest the King divided into several gifts, and sent them to him afterwards by parcels. Now a great thing it was to procure so much riches for his fellow Citizens, whereof other Captains and Demagogues receiving but a small proportion from the Kings, grew unsufferable, and becoming their Slaves, betray'd to them the liberty of their Countries. But a much greater, that by meanes of those summes he effected a reconciliation and good understanding between the rich and poor, and

Ptolomy's liberality to Aratus.

created quiet and security to the whole People. Admirable was his moderation amidst so great power, for being declared sole *Arbitrator* and *Plenipotentiary* for composing the differences of the *Exiles*, he would not accept that Commission alone, but associating fifteen of the Citizens, with great paines and trouble adjusted matters, and settled peace and friendship in the City, for which good service not only all the Citizens in general bestow'd extraordinary honours upon him, but the *Exiles*, apart by themselves, erecting his Statue in Brasse, inscribed thereon this *Elegy*.

*Thy well known vigour, counsels, feats of Warre,
Ingrav'd on Hercules's Pillars are;
But we, Aratus, this thy Statue place,
Freely by thy help from Exile and Disgrace.*

*In memory of thy Vertue may it stand,
And of thy Justice, by the Gods command,
Because thou to thy Country did'st restore,
The Laws and Liberty she had before.*

Aratus acting in this manner, got above the envy of the Citizens, by the good offices he did; but King *Antigonus* being troubled in his mind about him, and designing, either wholly to bring him over to

to his party, or else to make him suspected by *Ptolomy*, besides other marks of his favour show'd to him, who had no mind to receive them, he added this, that Sacrificing to the Gods in *Corinth*, he sent portions to *Aratus* at *Sicyon*, and at the Feast, where were many guests, he said openly, "I thought this *Sicyonian Youth* had been "only by natural instinct a lover of Liberty, "and his fellow-Citizens; but now I look upon him as a good Judge of the manners "and actions of Kings. For formerly he "despised us, and having his hopes further "off, admired the *Egyptian* Riches, hearing so much of their Elephants, Flocks, "Palaces, &c. But viewing all these at a near distance, and perceiving them to be "but meer Show and Pageantry, he is now "come over to us: And for my part I willingly receive him, and resolving to make "great use of him my self, command you "to look upon him as a friend. These words were soon taken hold of by those that envied and malign'd him, who strove, which of them should, in their Letters to *Ptolomy*, charge him with the most and heaviest calumnies, so that he sent to expostulate the matter with him: So much Envy and Ill will did there always attend the so much contended for, ardent, and almost love-sick Friendships of Princes and Great men,

*Antigonus
indeavours
to win A-
ratus to his
party.*

Aratus
plunders
Locris.

resolves to
attempt the
taking of the
Citadel of
Corinth.

But *Aratus* being now for the first time chosen General by the *Achéans* plundered the Country of *Locris*, which lies just over against them, and also *Calydonia*: Then he went to assist the *Boeotians* with ten thousand Souldiers, but came not up to them, 'till after the Battle near *Cheronea*, where they were beaten by the *Aetolians*, with the loss of *Abœocritus* the *Boeotarch*, or Governour of *Boeotia*, and a thousand men besides. The year following being again elected General, he resolved to attempt the taking of the fortress called *Acro-Corinthus*: Not so much for the advantage of the *Sicyonians* or *Achéans*, as considering that by driving thence the *Macedonian* Garrison, he should take off the yolk from the neck of all *Greece*. *Chares* the *Athenian* having the good fortune to get the better in a certain battle of the Kings Generals, wrote to the people of *Athens*, that this Victory was Sister to that at *Marathon*, and so may this Action be very well termed Sister to that of *Pelopidas* the *Theban*, and *Thrasylulus* the *Athenian*, when they slew the Tyrants; except perhaps it exceed them upon this account, that it was not against natural *Grecians*, but against a forreign and stranger Domination; now the *Isthmus* insinuating between the two Seas, does there unite the Continents of *Greece*; and *Acro-Corinthus*,
being

being a high mountain arising out of the very middle of the Country, whensoever it is kept with a Garrison, cuts off all *Peloponnesus*, from commerce, free passage of men, and armes, and all traffique by Sea and Land, and makes him Lord of all, that is master of it, wherefore the younger *Philip* did not jeast but said very true, when he called the City *Corinth* the Fetters of *Greece*, so that this post was always much contended for, especially by the Kings and Tyrants. and so vehemently was it longed for by *Antigonus*, that his passion for it came little short of that of frantick love, being continually taken up with devising how to take it by surprize, from those that were then masters of it, since he despaired to doe it by open force.

Therefore *Alexander* Lord of the place being dead, poisoned by him, as is reported, and his Wife *Nicea* succeeding in the Government, and the possession of *Acro-Corinthus*, he immediately sent his Son *Demetrius* to her, and giving her pleasing hopes of a match with the Prince, it being no unwelcom thing to an Elderly Lady, to have the conversation and injoyment of a brisk Youth, with this Lure he brought her to hand; but for all this, she would not deliver up the place, but held it with a very strong Garrison, which he seeming to take no no-

*Here the
old English
Translator
makes a
pleasant
mistake for
whereas A-
myot calls
Pelopon-
nesus Pref-
qu'He that
is peninsula
the old
Translator
tells us
news of a
certain I-
land of Pe-
loponnesus
call'd Pres-
che, Sister
to the Isle
of Pines.

The Acro-
corinth
seis'd by
Antigonus.

tice of, celebrated the Wedding in *Corinth*, entertaining them with shows and great treats every day, as one that had nothing else in his mind but pleasure and mirth.

* A famous
Musitian of
that time.

Now as soon as * *Amœheus* began to sing in the Theater, he waited himself upon *Nicæa* to the Play, she being carry'd in a stately Chaire, extremely pleas'd with her new honour, not dreaming of what was intended. As soon therefore as they were come to a turning of the street, that led up towards the Cittadel, he desired her to go on before him to the Theater, but for himself, bidding farewell to the Musick, farewell to the wedding, he went on faster than one would have thought his age would have admitted, to the *Acrocorinthus*, and finding the gate shut, knocked with his Staff, commanding them to open, which they within being amazed did, and having thus made himself Master of the place, he could not contain himself for joy, but that, though an old man, and one that had seen so many turns of fortune, he must needs Revel it in the open Streets and midst of the Market places, crown'd with Garlands, and attended with Minstrells, Inviting every body he met to partake in his Debauch. So much more does joy without discretion transport and ruffle the mind, than either fear or sorrow. *Antigonus* therefore having

having in this manner possessed himself of *Acrocorinthus*, he put a Garrison into it of those he trusted most, making *Perseus* the *Philosopher* Governour.

Now *Aratus* even in the life time of *A-^{Erginus}* *Arginus* ^{discovers a secret path leading to the weakest part of the} *Cittadel*. *alexander* had an intention to get it for his Country, but a Confederacy being made between him and the *Acheans*, he desisted; but now another opportunity of effecting the thing offer'd its self, which was this. There were in *Corinth* four brothers *Syrians* born, one whereof called *Diocles* served as a Souldier in the Garrison, but the three others, having robbed the Kings Treasure, retreated to *Sicyon* to one *Ægias* a Banker, whom *Aratus* made use of in matters of Money; to him they immediately sold part of their Gold, and the rest one of them, called *Erginus*, coming often thither exchanged by parcels. Becoming by this means familiarly acquainted with *Ægias*, and being by him led into discourses concerning the Fortrefs, he told him, that climbing up to his Brother amongst the steep Rocks, he had observed a winding path leading to that part of the Wall of the Castle, which was lower then the rest, at which *Ægias* drolling with him, and saying will you then for the sake of a little Gold Pilfer thus from the King, when you may if you please Sell one hour for a great sum of Money, for

Traitors and House breakers if taken, are alike punished with death: *Erginus* smiling upon him promis'd to breake the thing to *Diocles* (for he did not so fully trust his other Brothers) and returning within a few days, he bargain'd to conduct *Aratus* to that part of the wall, where it was no more than fifteen foot high, and to do what else should be necessary, together with his Brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* therefore agreed to give them threescore Talents, if he succeeded, but if he failed in his enterprize, and yet he and they came off safe, then he would give each of them a house and a Talent. Now the threescore Talents being to be depozed in the hands of *Ægias* for the use of *Erginus* and his Partners, and *Aratus* neither having so much by him, nor willing by taking it up of others to give them a jealousye of his designe, he pawn'd his Plate and his wives jewels to *Ægias* for the money. For so generous was his soule, and so strong a passion had he for great exploits, that remembring that *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* were esteemed the best and justest of all the *Grecians*, because they scorned the greatest presents, and would not prostitute their honour for money, he chose to be at secret charges about those attempts, in which he ran all the hazard alone, for the sake of the rest, that did

not

not so much as know what was a doing. Who therefore is there that does not admire, and sympathize with the great mind of this man, who at so vast expences purchas'd so extraordinary danger? and lent his richest Jewels to have an opportunity to expose his own life, by falling upon his Enemies in the dead of the night, without desiring any other security for them, than the hope of glory?

Now this exploit, though dangerous enough in its self, was made much more so by an error happ'ning through mistake in the very beginning. For *Technon* one of *Aratus's* Servants was sent away to *Diocles*, ^{*Technon's servant to Aratus his*} ~~mistake.~~ that they might together view the wall. Now he had never seen *Diocles*, but made no question of knowing him by the marks *Erginus* had given him of him, namely, that he had curled haire, was of a swarthy complexion, and beardless. Being come therefore to the appointed place, he stayed waiting without the gates, for *Erginus* and *Diocles*. The place was called *Ornis*. In the meane time *Dionysius* Elder Brother to *Erginus* and *Diocles*, who knew nothing at all of the matter, but much resembled *Diocles*, happ'ned to passe by. Now *Technon* encourag'd by the likeness of his features, ask'd him, if he was any thing related to *Erginus*, who answering he was his Brother,

ther, *Technon* fully perswaded that he talk'd to *Diocles*, not so much as asking his name, or staying for any other token, gave him his hand, and began to discourse with him, and aske him questions about matters agreed upon with *Erginus*. *Dionysius* cunningly laying hold of his mistake, seemed to understand him very well, and returning towards the City, held him on in discourse insensibly. And being now near the gate he was just about to scise on him, when by chance *Erginus* met them, and apprehending the cheat and the danger, beckn'd to *Technon* to make his escape, and immediately both of them, betaking themselves to their heeles, ran away as fast as they could to *Aratus*,* who for all this despaired not, but immediately sent away *Erginus* to *Dionysius* to bribe him to hold his tongue, and he not only effected that, but also brought him along with him to *Aratus*. Whom, as soon as they had him, they no longer left at liberty, but binding him, they kept him close shut up in a room, whilst they prepared for executing their designe.

Aratus marches to Corinth by night.

All things being now ready, he commanded the rest of his forces to pass the night in Arms, and taking with him four hundred chosen men, few whereof knew what they were going about, he led them to the gates

gates by the Temple of *Juno*. It was about the middst of summer, when the Moone was at full, and the night was cleare without any clouds, so that there was great danger lest the Armes glistering by Moonlight should discover them. But as the foremost of them came near the City, a great mist came off from the Sea, and darkened the City and Places thereabout. Then the rest of them sitting down put off their shoe's (both because they make less noise and also climbe surer, that go up ladders bare-footed) but *Erginus* taking with him seven young men habited like Travellers, got unobserved to the gate, and kill'd the Sentry with the other Guards, and at the same time, the ladders were clapp'd to the walls, and *Aratus* having in great hast got up a hundred men, he commanded the rest to follow as they could, and immediately drawing up his ladders after him, he marched through the City with his hundred men towards the Castle, being overjoy'd that he was undiscover'd, not doubting of the success. When immediately four of the Watch were seen coming towards them with a light. But they discover'd them not, because they were in the shade; wherefore covering themselves a while near some walls and old ruines, they layd in wait for them, and three of them they kill'd. But the fourth being

Surprises the City.

being wounded in the head with a sword, fled, crying out that Enemies were got into the City, and immediately the Trumpets sounded, and all the City was in an uproare at what had happen'd, and the streets were full of People running up and down, and many lights were hung out, both below in the Town, and above in the Castle, and a confused noise was to be heard in all parts. In the meane time *Aratus* laboured to get up the rocks, at first slowly, and with much difficulty, having lost the path, which lay deep, and was overshadow'd with Craggs, leading to the wall with many windings and turnings; but the Moon immediately and by miracle, as is said, dispersing the Clouds, gave light to the most difficult part of the way, till he got to that part of the wall he desired, and there she overshadow'd, and hid him, the Clouds coming together again. Now those Souldiers, which *Aratus* had left without the gate neare *Juno's Temple*, to the number of three hundred, entring the Town full of tumult and lights, and missing the way by which the former had gone, finding no track of them, were very much affraid, shrowding themselves under the shady side of a Rock, and there they stood, being in great distress and perplexity. For now *Aratus* Souldiers being engag'd with those

those of the *Garrison*, a warlike crye descended, and a confus'd noise was heard echoing on all hands, by reason of the refraction from the mountains, and therefore uncertain whence it first proceeded. Being thus in doubt which way to turn themselves, *Archelaus* Captain of *Antigonus's* men, having a great number of Souldiers with him, made up towards the Castle with great shouts and the noise of Trumpets to fall upon *Aratus's* People, and pass'd by the three hundred, who as if they had rose out of an ambush immediately charged him, killing the first they encountred, and so affrighted the rest together with *Archelaus*, that they put them to flight and pursued them, till they had quite broke and dispersed them about the City. No sooner were these defeated, but *Ergimus* came to them, from those that were fighting above, to acquaint them, that *Aratus* was engaged with the Enemy, that defended themselves very stoutly, and fought bravely for the wall, so that he stood in need of speedy help. They therefore desir'd him to lead them on without delay, and marching up, they by their shouts made their Friends understand who they were, and encouraged them; now the full Moon, shining on their harness, made them at a distance appear more in number to the Enemy than they

*Stormes the
AcroCo-
rinth.*

they were. And the Eccho of the night multiply'd their shouts; in short, falling on with the rest they made the Enemy give way, and by breake of day were masters *and takes it.* of the Castle and Garrison, so that the rising Sun gave lustre to their Exploit. By this time the rest of the Army came up to *Aratus* from *Sicyon*, the *Corinthians* joyfully receiving them at their Gates, helping them to secure the rest of the Kings party; and now having put all things into a safe posture, he came down from the Castle to the Theater, an infinite number of People crowding thither to see him, and to heare what he would say to the *Corinthians*. Wherefore drawing up the *Achaens* on each side the entrance of the Theater, he appeared, armed as he was, from behind the Scenes, his countenance much altered by reason of his toyle and watching, so that the natural spirited-ness and gayety of his temper was overborne and depressed by the wearinesse of his body. The People, as soon as he came forth, breaking out into great applauses and congratulations, he tooke his speare in his right hand, and resting his knee a little bent, and his body against it, stood a good while in that posture, silently receiving the shouts and acclamations of those, that extoll'd his valour, and admir'd his fortune; which being over, standing up-
right

right, he began an Oration in the name of the *Achaens*, suitable to the late action, perswading the *Corinthians* to associate themselves to the *Achaens*, and withall deliver'd up to them the Keys of their gates, *makes an Oration to the Citizens.* which had never been in their power since the time of King *Philip*; and for *Antigonus's* Captaines, he dismissed *Archelaus*, whom he had taken prisoner, *Theophrastus* refusing quarter he caused to be slaine, and for *Persæus*, when he saw the Castle was lost, he got away to *Cenchreae*. Where some time after discoursing with one that said to him, *that in his opinion none but a wise Philosopher was fit to be a General*, he reply'd *The Gods know that none of zeno's maximes once pleased me better than this, but now I am quite of another mind, convinc'd by that Sycionian youth.* This is by many related of *Persæus*.

But *Aratus* presently after made himself master of the Temple of *Juno*, and haven of *Lechaum*, seis'd upon five and twenty of the King's ships, together with five hundred horses, and four hundred *Syrian* slaves which he sold. The *Achaens* also put a Garrison of four hundred Souldiers, fifty Dogs with as many Keepers into *Acro-Corinthus*. Now the *Romans* extolling *Philopemen* called him *the last of the Grecians*, as if no great man had ever since his time been bred amongst them, but I may well say

The good effects of this Exploit.

say that this was the last of the *Grecian* exploits, being comparable to the best of them, both for the daringness of it and the success, as the consequences declar'd, for the *Megarians* revolting from *Antigonus* took part with *Aratus*, and the *Træzenians*, and *Epidaurians* ingrafted themselves into the *Achæan Community*. His first inroad was into *Attica*, and passing over into *Salamis* he plunder'd the *Island*, turning the *Achæan* force every way, as now let loose, and set at liberty. Those Prisoners that were Freemen he sent home to *Athens* without ransome, inciting them thereby to throw off their fetters; he made *Ptolomy* to become a Confederate of the *Achæans*, and their General both by Sea and Land, and so great was his power with them, that since he could not by Law be chosen their General every year, yet every other year he was, and by his counsels and actions was in effect always so. For they perceived that neither riches nor reputation, nor the friendship of Kings, nor the private int'rest of his own Country, nor any other thing else was so dear to him as the increase of the *Achæan* power and greatness. For he believ'd that small Cities could be preserv'd by nothing else, but a continual and combin'd force, united by the bond of common int'rest; and as the members of the body

live

live and breath by their mutual communication and connexion, and when once separated pine away and putrifie, in the same manner are Cities ruin'd by being dismembred from one another, as well as preserv'd, when linked together into one great body, they injoy the benefit of that Providence and Counsel that governs the whole.

Now being troubled within himself, that whereas the chief neighbouring Cities injoy'd their own Laws and Liberties, the *Argives* alone should be in Bondage, he resolv'd to dispatch their Tyrant *Aristomachus*, being very desirous, both to shew his gratitude to the City where he was bred up by restoring its Liberty, and to add so considerable a Town to the *Achæans*. Nor were there some wanting, who had the courage to undertake the thing, of which *Æschylus* and *Charimenes* the Southsayer werethe chiefs; but they wanted Swords, for the Tyrant had prohibited the keeping of any under a great penalty; wherefore *Aratus* having provided some small daggers at *Corinth*, and hiding them in the pack-saddles of the pack-horses that carried ordinary ware, he sent them to *Argos*. But *Charimenes* letting in another person into the design, *Æschylus* and his Partners being angry at it cast him off also, resolving to execute the business

Aratus attempts to free Argos

C c

by

by themselves, which he discovering, in a great rage went and detected them, just as they were going to kill the *Tyrant*; however the most of them made a shift to escape to *Corinth*. Not long after *Aristomachus* was slain by his Servants, and *Aristippus* a worse Tyrant than he seiz'd the Government, upon which *Aratus*, mustering all the *Achaens* that were of age, hastened away to the aid of the City, believing that he should find the *Argives* very ready to joyn with him; but the people being accustomed to Slavery, and none appearing to receive him, he retreated, giving thereby occasion to accuse the *Achaens* of committing acts of Hostility in the midst of Peace; upon which account they were Sued in the Court of the *Mantineans*, and *Aratus* not making his Appearance, *Aristippus* Cast them, and had Costs given him to the value of *Thirty Mine*. And now both Hating and Fearing *Aratus*, he sought means to kill him, having the assistance, and good wishes of King *Antigonus*; so that he was perpetually dogg'd and watch'd by those that waited for an opportunity to dispatch him. But the surest Guard of a Prince is the good will of his Subjects; for where the Nobility and Common People are not afraid of, but for their Governour, he sees with many Eyes, and hears with many Ears whatsoever is a doing

but fails in
his design.

The surest
Guard of a
Prince.

doing; wherefore I cannot but here digress a little from the course of my Narrative to describe that manner of Life, which the so much envy'd Arbitrary power, and the so much celebrated and admired *The Tyrant Aristippus's manner of* pomp of uncontrouled government oblig'd *Aristippus* to lead; for tho' *Antigonus* was his Friend and Allye, and that he had a numerous Life-guard, and had not left one Enemy of his alive in the City, yet was he forced to make his Guards watch without in the Basse-Court, and for his servants, he turned them all out immediately after Supper, and then shutting the doors upon them, he crept up into a small Chamber together with his Wench through a trap-door, upon which he placed his bed, and there slept after such a fashion, as one in his Condition can be supposed to sleep, that is, interruptedly and in great fear. the Ladder was taken away by his Wenches Mother, and lockt up in another Room, which in the morning she brought again, and putting it to, called up this Brave and Wonderful Tyrant, who came creeping out like some Snake from his hole; whereas *Aratus* not by force of Armes, but Lawfully, and by his Vertue, having obtain'd a firmly settled Command, wearing an ordinary Garment and Cloak, being the common and declared Enemy of all *Tyrants*, hath left behind

him a noble Offspring remaining among the *Grecians* to this day; but of those that usurped strong Castles, maintained Lifeguards, fenced themselves with Arms, Gates, and Bolts, *most like poor Flares* dyed a violent death, without either Family, or honourable Monument to preserve their memory.

Against this *Aristippus* therefore *Aratus* made many open and secret attempts, whilest he indeavoured to take *Argos*, though without success, and particularly clapping scaling Ladders one night to the wall he desperately got up upon it with a few of his Souldiers, and killed the Guards that opposed him. But the day appearing, the *Tyrant* set upon him on all hands, whilest the *Argives*, as if it had not been their Liberty that was contended for, but were about to distribute the *Nemean Prizes*, like equal and just Spectators sat looking on in great quietness. *Aratus* fighting lustily was run through the thigh with a Lance, yet he maintain'd his ground against the Enemy 'till night, and had he held out that night also, he had gain'd his point; for the *Tyrant* thought of nothing but flying, and had already ship'd most of his goods; But *Aratus* having no intelligence thereof, and wanting water, being disabled himself by his wound, retreated with his Souldiers, and

and despairing to do any good this way, fell openly with his Army into *Argolis*, and plunder'd it, and joyning battle with *Aristippus* near the River *Chares*, he is accused to have withdrawn out of the fight, and thereby abandon'd the Victory. For whereas one part of his Army had apparently got the better, and was pursuing the Enemy at a good distance from him, yet retreated he in great disorder into his Camp, not so much because he was overpressed by the Enemy on his Wing, as despairing of success, and through a Panick fear. But when the other Wing returning from the pursuit showed themselves extremely vexed, that though they had put the Enemy to flight, and killed many more of his men than they had lost, yet those that were in a manner conquered should erect a *Trophy* as Conquerors, being much ashamed he resolv'd to fight them again about the *Trophy*, and the next day but one drew up his Army to give them battle; but perceiving that they were reinforc'd with fresh Troops, and came on with better courage than before, he durst not hazard a Fight, but desiring a Truce to bury his dead, retreated; however by his dexterity in managing all affaires with great Obligingness and Courtesy, and by his general Favour, he not only excus'd and

Aristippus fights Aratus and beats him.

obliterated this Fault, but also brought in the *Cleoneans* to the *Achaean Association*, and celebrated the *Nemean Games* at *Cleone*, as properly and most antiently belonging unto them. These Games were also celebrated by the *Argives* at the same time, which gave the first occasion to the violation of the privilege of safe Conduct and immunity always granted to those that came to strive for the Prizes, the *Achaean*s at that time selling as Enemies all those they could catch going through their Country to the Games at *Argos*. So vehement and implacable a Hater was he of the *Tyrants*.

Not long after *Aratus* having notice that *Aristippus* had a design upon *Cleone*, but was afraid of him, because he then resided in *Corinth*, he assembled his Army by publick Proclamation, and commanding them to take along with them provision for several days, he marched to *Cenchreae*, hoping by this Stratagem, to intice *Aristippus* to fall upon *Cleone*, when he supposed him far enough off, and so it happen'd, for he immediately brought his Army against it from *Argos*. But *Aratus* returning from *Cenchreae* to *Corinth* in the dusk of the Evening, and besetting the passages with Guards, he led on the *Achaean*s, who follow'd him in so good order and with so much speed and alacrity, that they were not discover'd by *Aristippus*,

not

not only whilst upon their March, but even when they were got into *Cleone* in the night, and were drawn up in order of battle. As soon as it was morning the Gates being opened and the Trumpets sounding he fell upon the Enemy with great cries and fury, and routing them follow'd the pursuit, especially that way that *Aristippus* endeavour'd to make his escape, through a Country full of windings and turnings. The Pursuit lasted as far as *Mycene*, where the Tyrant was slain by a certain Cretan call'd *Tragiscus*, as *Dinias* reports, and of the common Souldiers above fifteen hundred. Yet tho *Aratus* had obtain'd so great a Victory without the loss of a man, he could not make himself master of *Argos*, nor set it at liberty; because *Aegias* and the younger *Aristomachus* got into the town with the Kings forces and seiz'd upon the Government. But by this exploit he spoiled the Scoffs and Jeasts of those that flattered the *Tyrants*, and in their Raillery would say, that the *Achaean General* was usually troubled with a Looseness when he was to fight a battle, that the sound of a Trumpet struck him with a Drowsiness and a Giddiness, and that when he had drawn up his Army, and given the word, he used to ask his Lieutenants and Officers, what further need there could be of his

Aratus regain his credit, and *Aristippus* is kill'd.

presence since the dye was cast, and then went a loof off to expect the success. And so much did these reports gain credit, that when the Philosophers disputed whether to have ones ones Heart beat, and to change Colour upon any danger, be an argument of fear, or rather of weakness, and coldness of constitution. *Aratus* was always quoted, as a valiant Captain, but subject to be so affected in time of Battle.

The Tyrant
Lyfiades
voluntarily
frees Mega-
lopolis.

Having thus dispatch'd *Aristippus*, he devised with himself how to ruine *Lyfiades* the *Megalopolitan*, who Tyranniz'd over his Country. This person was naturally of a generous temper, and not insensible of true honour, induced to usurp the Government, not by the ordinary motives of other Tyrants, Licentiousness, and Avarice, but being young, and stimulated with the desire of Glory, suffered his noble breast to be unwarily prepossessed with the vain and false Applauses given to Tyranny, as some Happy and Glorious thing; but he no sooner seiz'd the Government, than he grew weary of the weight of it; and at once emulating the Tranquillity and fearing the Policy of *Aratus*, he took a most Noble resolution, first to free himself from Hatred, and Fear, from Souldiers and Guards, and then his Country, as a publick Benefactor. and immediately sending for *Aratus* resign'd

the

the Government, and incorporated his City into the *Achean Community*. The *Acheans* applauding this generous action chose him General, upon which, desiring to outstrip *Aratus* in Glory, amongst many other improper things, he declared war against the *Lacedaemonians*, which *Aratus* opposing was thought to do it out of Envy; but *Lyfiades* was the second time chosen General, tho *Aratus* appear'd against him, and labour'd to have that charge conferred upon another; for *Aratus* himself had that Command every other year, as has been said; and *Lyfiades* succeeded so well in his pretensions that he was thrice chosen General, governing alternately as did *Aratus*; but at last declaring himself his professed Enemy, and accusing him frequently to the *Acheans*, he was rejected; for it appeared plainly that with counterfeit and adulterated Merit he contested against true and sincere Vertue; and as *Aesop* tells us that the Cuckoe once asking the little Birds why they flew away from her, was answered, because they fear'd she would one day prove a Hawk, so *Lyfiades*'s former Tyranny still cast a Suspicion upon him, that he was not inwardly changed. But *Aratus* gain'd still more honour in the *Aetolick War*, for the *Acheans* resolving to fall upon the *Aetolians* in the *Megarian Confines*, and *Agis* also the *Lacedaemonian King*, who

Emulates
and opposes
Aratus:

And thereby
loses the fa-
vour of the
Acheans;

The Aeto-
lick War:

who came to their assistance with an Army, encouraging them to fight, *Aratus* opposed this determination, and patiently enduring many reproaches, many flouts and jeerings at his soft and cowardly temper, he preferred the true common Interest before his own Credit, and suffer'd the Enemy to pass over the mountain *Gerania* into *Peloponnesus* unfought withall; but understanding that they had suddenly taken *Pellene* in their march, he chang'd his mind, and not losing time in drawing together his whole force, he marched towards the Enemy with such as he had about him, to fall upon them being now weakned by the intemperances and disorders committed upon their good success; for as soon as the Souldiers entered the City they were dispersed in the several houses, quarrelling and fighting with one another about the Plunder; and as for the Commanders they were running about after the Wives and Daughters of the *Pellenians*, putting their Helmets upon their heads, that every mans prize might be plainly distinguish'd thereby, and not be seized by another. In this posture were they when news came that *Aratus* was ready to fall upon them. And being now in great amazement, as must needs happen in such a confusion, before all of them heard of the danger, the nearest to the Gates and Suburbs

Suburbs skirmishing with the *Acheans* immediately fled, being already overcome, and struck a great consternation into those that came in to their assistance. In this confusion one of the Captives, Daughter of *Epigethes*, being extremely handsome and Tall, happened to be sitting in the Temple of *Diana*, placed there by the Commander of the band of chosen men, who had taken her, and put his head-piece upon her, she hearing the noise, and running out to see what was the matter, stood looking upon those that fought, having the Helmet upon her head, in which posture she seemed to the Citizens to be something more than human, and struck such fear and dread into the Enemy, that believed it to be a divine apparition, that they lost all courage to defend themselves; and the *Pellenians* tell us, that the Image of *Diana* stands usually untouched, and when the Priestess happens at any time to remove it to some other place, no body dares look upon it, but all turn their faces from it; for not only is the sight of it terrible and hurtful to mankind, but it makes even the Trees barren, and to cast their fruit, by which it happens to be carryed. This Image therefore they say the Priestess produced, at that time, and holding it directly in the faces of the *Aetolians*, made them loose their reason

*Pellene re-
cover'd by a
Panick fear*

reason and judgment. But *Aratus* mentions no such thing in his *Commentaries*, but says that having, put to flight the *Ætolians*, and falling in Pell Mell with them into the City, he drove them out by main force, and killed seven hundred of them. This Action has been always reckon'd amongst the most famous Exploits, and *Timanthes* the Painter has left a lively representation thereof. But many and great Nations combining against the *Acheans*, *Aratus* clapt up a Peace with the *Ætolians*, and making use of the assistance of *Pantaleon* the most potent man amongst the *Ætolians*; he not only made a peace, but a Confederacy betwixt those two States.

Peace made
with the
Ætolians.

But being desirous to free the *Athenians* also, he was censured and accus'd by the *Acheans*, for that notwithstanding the Truce and Suspension of Arms made between them and the *Macedonians*, he had attempted to take the Haven of *Piræum*. But he denies this fact in his *Commentaries*, and lays the blame on *Erginus*, by whose assistance he took *Acro-Corinthus*, alleaging that he upon his own private account indeavour'd to Scale the *Piræum*, and his Ladders happening to break, being hotly pursued called out upon *Aratus*, as if present, by which means deceiving the Enemy, he got safely off; but methinks this excuse is very weak

Aratus ex-
cuses the as-
saulting the
Piræum.

weak and improbable; for it is not very likely that *Erginus* a private man, and a *Syrian Stranger*, should conceive in his mind so great an attempt, without the instigation, and assistance of *Aratus*; nor was it twice or thrice, but very often that like obstinate Lovers, he discovered a desingne to be Master of the *Piræum*, and was so far from being discourag'd by his disappointments, that his missing his hopes but narrowly, was an incentive to him, to proceed the more boldly in his design. One time amongst the rest, making his escape through * *Thriasium*, he put his Leg out of joint, and was forced to Scarifie it in order to his cure, so that for a long time he was carry'd in a Litter to the Wars. And as soon as *Antigonus* was dead, *Demetrius* succeeding him in the Kingdom, he was more bent than ever upon setting *Athens* at Liberty; openly despising the *Macedonians*. Wherefore being overthrown in Battle near *Phylacia* by *Bythias* *Demetrius's* General, and there being a very strong report, that he was either Taken or Slain, *Diogenes* the Governour of the *Piræum* sent Letters to *Corinth* commanding the *Acheans* to depart that City, seeing *Aratus* was dead. When these Letters came to *Corinth*, *Aratus* happen'd to be there in Person, so that *Diogenes's* Messengers being sufficiently

*The Terri-
tory between
Athens and
Eleusis.

He is defea-
ted by the
Macedoni-
an General
and reported
to be Slain:

Invades the Athenians in a rage for their flattery:

is pacify'd, and assists them to recover their Liberty.

sufficiently mockt and derided, were forced to return to their Master. King *Demetrius* also sent a Ship, wherein *Aratus* was to be brought to him in Chains. But the *Athenians* exceeding all bounds of Flattery to the *Macedonians*, Crown'd themselves with Garlands upon the first news of his Death; Wherefore invading their Territories in a rage, he pierced as far as the *Academy*, but then suffering himself to be pacified, he did no further act of hostility; by which means the *Athenians* having full proof of his virtue, when afterwards upon the death of *Demetrius*, they attempted to recover their Liberty, called him in to their assistance, and although at that time another person was General of the *Acheans*, and himself had long lain Bed-ridden of an infirmity, yet rather than fail the City in a time of need, he was carry'd thither in a Litter, and prevailed with *Diogenes* the Governour to deliver up the *Piræum*, *Munychia*, *Salamis*, and *Sunium* to the *Athenians* in consideration of a hundred and fifty Talents, whereof *Aratus* himself gave twenty to the City. Upon this the *Æginetæ* and the *Hermonians* joyned themselves to the *Acheans*, and the greatest part of *Arcadia* became Tributary to them, so that the *Macedonians* ceasing to molest them, by reason of their Wars with other Neighbouring Nations, and the *Ætolians*

Ætolians being their Allies, the *Achean* power increased very considerably. Now *Aratus* desirous to effect a design he had long had in his mind, and impatient, that Tyranny should still Nest its self, in so Neighbouring a City as *Argos*, he sent to *Aristomachus* to perswade him to restore Liberty to that City, and to associate it to the *Acheans*, and that following *Lyfiades's* Example, he should rather chuse to be the General of a great Nation, with Esteem and Honour, than the Tyrant of one City, with continual Hatred and Danger. *Aristomachus* Perswades *Aratus* to send him fifty Talents, with which he might pay off the Souldiers. In the meantime whilst the Money was providing, *Lyfiades* being then General, and extremely ambitious, that this advantage might seem to be of his procuring for the *Acheans*, he accus'd *Aratus* to *Aristomachus*, as one that bore an irreconcilable hatred to the Tyrants, and perswading him to commit the affair to his management, he presented him to the *Acheans*. But there the *Achean* Council gave a manifest proof of the great Credit *Aratus* had with them, and the good Will they bore him. For when he spake against *Aristomachus's* being admitted into the Association, they rejected him with great anger, but as soon as being pacify'd

Aristomachus contrary to Aratus's advice invades Laconia:

Aratus is routed by Cleomenes.

fy'd he began to appear for it, they cheerfully and readily Decreed that the *Argives* and *Phliasians* should be incorporated into their Commonwealth, and the next year they chose *Aristomachus* General, who being in credit with the *Achaëans*, was very desirous to invade *Laconia*, and for that purpose sent for *Aratus* from *Athens*. *Aratus* wrote to him to dissuade him all he could from that Expedition, being very unwilling the *Achaëans* should be engaged against *Cleomenes*, who was a daring man, and grown to a strange power. But *Aristomachus* resolving to go on, he obey'd, and served in person; and when *Cleomenes* coming upon them on the suddain near *Pallantium*, *Aristomachus* would have fought him; *Aratus* hindred him, for which he was accused by *Lyfades*, and openly oppos'd by him in his pretensions to the Office of General, but carry'd it by plurality of Voices, and was chosen General the twelfth time: This year being routed by *Cleomenes* near *Lycæum*, he fled from it, and wandring the whole Night was believ'd to be Slain; and indeed it was confidently reported so throughout all *Greece*; but he having escaped this danger and rallied his forces, was not content to March off in safety, but making use of the present Conjuncture, when no body dreamt any such thing, fell suddenly upon the

Manti-

But shortly after takes Mantinea.

Mantineans, Allies of *Cleomenes*, and taking the City put a good Garrison into it, and made the stranger inhabitants free of the City; procuring by this means those Advantages for the beaten *Achaëans*, which being Conquerours they could hardly have obtain'd. The *Lacedæmonians* again invading the *Megalopolitan* territories, he march'd to the assistance of the City, but refused to give *Cleomenes*, who did all he could to provoke him to it, any opportunity of engaging him to a battle, nor could be prevailed upon by the *Megalopolitans*, who urged him to it extremely. For besides that by nature he was averse to set Battles, he was then much inferiour in number of men, and was to deal with a daring man, and in his prime, himself being now in the declension of his courage and ambition. he consider'd also that he ought to maintain that Glory, he was now in possession of, by caution, which the other aspired to by forwardness and daring; so that tho the Light armed Souldiers had sallied out, and driven the *Lacedæmonians* as far as their Camp, and even to their Tents, yet would not *Aratus* bring the Citizens to the charge, but posting himself in a hollow passage hindred them from passing on. But *Lyfades* extremely vexed at all this, and loading *Aratus* with reproaches intreated the horse

D d

that

Lyfiades; that together with him they would second them that had the Enemy in Chase, and not let a certain Victory slip out of their Hands, nor forsake him, that was going to Venture his Life for his Country. And being now reinforce'd with many Stout men that turn'd after him, he charg'd the Enemy's right Wing, and routing it follow'd the pursuit, hurry'd on without fear or Wit by his eagerness and Ambition into Crooked ways full of Trees and broad Ditches, where being engag'd by *Cleomenes* he was Slain, Fighting Gallantly at the very Entrance of his Country, the rest Flying back to their main Body, and troubling their Ranks, put the whole Army to the rout. *Aratus* was extremely blamed for this Action, suspected to have betray'd *Lyfiades*, and being constrain'd to retire with the *Acheans*, who returned in a Rage, he follow'd them as far as *Aegium*; where calling a Council that decreed, that he should no longer be furnish'd with Money, nor have any more Souldiers hired for him, but that, if he would make War, he should pay them himself; which Affront he resented so far, as to resolve to give up the Seal and lay down the Office of General; but upon second thoughts, he thought it best to have Patience, and afterwards Marched with the *Acheans* to *Orchomenos* to Fight with *Megistonus*.

Aratus in disgrace.

gistonus the Father-in-law of *Cleomenes*, where he got the Victory killing three hundred men and taking *Megistonus* Prisoner.

Fights Megistonus and takes him Prisoner.

Now whereas he used to be chosen General every other year, when his turn came he was call'd to take upon him that charge, but he refused it, and *Timoxenus* was chosen in his stead. The true cause whereof was not the Pique, he was suppos'd to have taken at the people, but the ill Circumstances of the *Achean* affairs. For *Cleomenes* did not now invade them coldly and Cautelously as formerly, as one Curb'd by the Magistrates of his City, but having kill'd the *Ephori*, equally divided the Lands, and made many strangers free of the City, was without controul in his Government; and therefore fell in good earnest upon the *Acheans* to bring them under his power. Wherefore *Aratus* is much blamed, that in a Stormy and tempestuous time, like a cowardly Pilot, he should forsake the Helm, when he should rather have pressed, whether they would or no, to have saved the State; or if he thought the *Achean* affairs desperate, to have yielded all up to *Cleomenes*, and not to have exposed *Peloponnesus* to the Barbarous *Macedonian* Garrisons, and fill'd *Acro-Corinthus* with *Illyrick* and *Galatian* Souldiers, and under the specious name of *Confederates*, to have

Refuses the Generalship of the Acheans and why.

*Is censur'd
for calling
in Antigo-
nus and the
Macedoni-
ans.*

made those Masters of the Cities, whom he had been so great an Enemy to, both by his Armes and Policy, and in his Commentaries had branded with reproach and infamy, and say that *Cleomenes* was arbitrary and Tyrannical, yet was he descended from the *Heracidae*, and *Sparta* was his Country, the obscurest Citizen whereof, deserved to be preferred to the Generalship, before the best of the *Macedonians*, by those that had any regard to the *Grecian* Nobility. Besides *Cleomenes* sued for that command over the *Acheans*, as one that would return the Honour of that Title with real kindnesses to the Cities; whereas *Antigonus* being declared absolute General by Sea and Land, would not accept thereof, unless *Acro-Corinthus* were upon that Condition put into his hands, following here in the Example of *Aesops* Hunter; for he would not get up and Ride, the *Acheans*, who desired him so to do, and offer'd their backs to him by Embassies, and Popular decrees, 'till by a Garrison and Hostages he had bitted and bridled them; though *Aratus* does all he can to excuse this, upon the account of pure necessity. But *Polybius* writes, that he long before this juncture apprehending the daring Temper of *Cleomenes*, had a private conference with *Antigonus*, and that he had before hand

prevail'd

prevail'd with the *Megalopolitans*, to press the *Acheans* to crave Aide from *Antigonus*, for they were the most harrassed by the War, *Cleomenes* continually Plundering and Ransacking their Country, and so writeth also *Phylarchus*, who unless seconded by the Testimony of *Polybius* would not be Credited; for he is most passionately partial to *Cleomenes*, when ever he speaks of him, and as if he was pleading, not writing a History, defends the one and accuses the other. The *Acheans* therefore lost *Mantineia*, being recover'd by *Cleomenes*, and being beaten in a great Fight near *Hecatombeum*, so general was the Consternation, that they immediately sent to *Cleomenes* to desire him to come to *Argos*, and take the Government upon him. But *Aratus* as soon as he understood that he was coming, and was got as far as *Lerna* with his Army, fearing the worst, sent Ambassadors to him, to intreat him to come accompany'd with three hundred only, as to Friends and Confederates, and if he mistrusted any thing, he should receive Hostages; but *Cleomenes* alledging that this was plain Mockery and affront, returned, sending a Letter to the *Acheans* full of Reproaches and Accusation against *Aratus*, and he also wrote Letters against *Cleomenes*; so that bitter Revilings and Raileries were bandied on both hands,

D d 3

hands,

*The Achæ-
ans lose
Mantineia
and are bea-
ten at Heca-
tombeum
by Cleome-
nes.*

hands, without sparing even their Marriages and Wives. Hereupon *Cleomenes* sent a Herald to declare War against the *Achaans*, and in the mean time mistimed very narrowly of taking *Sicyon* by Treachery. Turning from thence he stormed *Pellene*, and took the City, deserted by the *Achaean* General, as he did *Phenece* and *Pentecleon* not long after; upon which the *Argives* voluntarily joyned with him, and the *Phliassians* received a Garrison, and in short nothing held firm for the *Achaans*, but an universal Confusion surrounded *Aratus*, who beheld all *Peloponnesus* shaken, and the Cities Revolting by the practises of Innovators; for no place was quiet or satisfy'd with the present condition; so that amongst the *Sicyonians* and *Corinthians* themselves, many were detected to have had private Conferences with *Cleomenes*, who of a long time, out of a desire to make themselves Masters of their several Cities, had secretly malign'd the Government. *Aratus* having Absolute Power given him to bring these to Con-digne Punishment, executed as many of them as he could find at *Sicyon*, but going about to find them out and Punish them at *Corinth* also, he irritated the People, already Sick and Weary of the *Achaean* Government. Wherefore running Tumultuously to the Temple of *Apollo*, they sent

Their af-fairs in very ill posture.

Aratus, being commision'd to Punish the Traitors is forc'd to shift for his own life.

for

for *Aratus*, resolving to take or kill him before they broke out into open Rebellion. He came accordingly leading his Horse in his hand, as if he suspected nothing: Then several standing out and accusing him, with Mild Words and a settled Countenance he commanded them to sit down, and not to stand crying out upon him in so disorderly manner, desiring also those that were about the Door to go in, and in saying so he stept aside a little, as if he would give his Horse to some body. Clearing himself thus of the Crowd, and speaking without discomposure to the *Corinthians* that he met, commanding them to go to *Apollo's* Temple, and being now, before they were aware, got near to the *Citadel*, he leap't upon his Horse, and commanding *Cleopater* the Governour to have a special care of his Charge, he galloped to *Sicyon*, follow'd by thirty of his Souldiers, the rest leaving him, and shifting for themselves. and not long after it being known that he was fled, the *Corinthians* pursu'd him, but not overtaking him they immediately sent for *Cleomenes*, and deliver'd up the City to him, who valued not the gain thereof so much, as he thought he had lost by the escape of *Aratus*. However being now strengthen'd by the coming in of those that inhabited the *Corinthian Shore*, who gave up

their

their Cities to him, he made a Wall and Circumvallation round the *Citadel of Corinth*;

But *Aratus* being arriv'd at *Sicyon*, a great many of the *Acheans* Flock to him, and in an Assembly there, he was chosen General with absolute Power, having about him a Guard of his own Citizens, after he had now manag'd the *Achean* affairs three and thirty years, being always the chief Man in Credit and Power of all *Greece*, but was now deserted on all hands, helpless, and toss'd about in that Tempest, which threatned the Shipwrack of his Country; for the *Aetolians* refus'd to assist him in his distress, when he sent unto them for Aid, and the *Athenians*, who were well affected to him, were diverted from lending him any Succour, by the Authority of *Euclides* and *Micion*. Now whereas he had a House and Treasure in *Corinth*, *Cleomenes* medled not with it, nor suffer'd any Body else to do so, but sending for his friends and Domesticks, he commanded them to take care of his Concerns, as those that were to give an account of them to *Aratus*: He also privately sent *Tripylus* unto him, and afterwards *Migistonus* his Father-in-law, to offer him besides several other things, a yearly Pension of twelve Talents, which was twice as much as *Ptolomy* allow'd him, for he gave him but Six; and all that he

Aratus in
great di-
stress.

he demanded was only to be declar'd General of the *Acheans*, and together with them to have the keeping of the *Citadel of Corinth*: To which *Aratus* returning answer that the *Achean* affairs were not so properly in his Power, as he was in the Power of them, *Cleomenes* believing himself to be mock'd and abus'd, immediately invaded the Country of *Sicyon*, destroying all with Fire and Sword, and besieged the City three Months, whilst *Aratus* was in dispute with himself whether he should call in *Antigonus* upon Condition of delivering up the *Citadel of Corinth* to him, for he would not lend him assistance upon any other Terms. In the mean time the *Acheans* held a Council at *Aegium*, to which they called *Aratus*; but it was very hazardous for him to pass thither, because *Cleomenes* was incamped about the City of *Sicyon*, besides the Citizens indeavour'd to stop him by their Intreaties, protesting that they would not suffer him to expose himself to so evident Danger, the Enemy being so near; the Women also and Children hung about him, weeping and imbracing him as their common Father, and Defender. But he having Comforted and Encourag'd them as well as he could, got on Horse-back, and being accompani'd with Ten of his Friends, and his Son, then a Youth

Antigonus
call'd in to
the assistance
of the A-
chæans.

Youth, got away to the Sea side, and finding some Vessels there, which Rode at Anchor, went on Board of them and Sailed to *Ægium* to the Council, in which it was decreed that *Antigonus* should be call'd in to their Aid, and should have the Citadel of *Corinth* deliver'd to him, to whom *Aratus* sent his Son with the other Hostages. The *Corinthians* extremely offended at this proceeding, Plunder'd his Goods, and gave his House to *Cleomenes*, *Antigonus* being now near at hand with his Army, in which were twenty Thousand Foot, and one Thousand four hundred Horse, *Aratus* with the other Magistrates went to meet him by Sea, the Enemy suspecting nothing of it, as far as *Pegæ*, having no great Confidence either in *Antigonus* or the *Macedonians*; for he was very sensible that his greatness was built upon their loss, and that the first pretension he had to the management of affairs was founded upon the Enmity between him and *Antigonus* the Elder. But perceiving the present necessity, and Juncture unavoidable, to which those that seem to command, are constrain'd to obey, he resolv'd to put all to the venture. So soon therefore as *Antigonus* was told, that *Aratus* was coming up to him, he Saluted the rest of the Company after the ordinary manner, but him

he

Receives A-
ratus very
Honourably.

he receiv'd at the first in a very Honorable manner, and finding him afterwards to be a good and discreet man, admitted him to his private familiarity; for *Aratus* was not only useful to him in the management of affairs of concern, but agreeable also in private Conversation; and therefore though *Antigonus* was young, yet as soon as he observed the Temper of the man to be proper for a Princes Friendship, he made more use of him than of any other, not only of the *Achæans*, but also of the *Macedonians*, that were about him; So that the thing fell out to him just as the Gods had foretold in a Sacrifice. For it is reported, that as *Aratus* was not long before offering Sacrifice, there were found in the Liver two Gall-Bags inclos'd in the same Caul, whereupon the Soothsayer told him, that there should be the strictest Friendship imaginable between him, and his Greatest and most Mortal Enemies: which Prediction he at that time slighted, having no great Faith in Southsayings and Prognostications, but depending most upon Rational deliberations. But afterwards things succeeding well in the War, *Antigonus* made a great Feast at *Corinth*, to which he invited a great number of Guests, and therein placed *Aratus* next above himself, and calling for a Coverlet, asked him if he

did

A Prediction
on pleasantly
fulfill'd.

did not find it Cold, to which *Aratus* replying that he was ready to Shake with Cold, he commanded him to come nearer to him, and so the Servants threw the same Coverlet over them both: Then *Aratus* Remembering the Sacrifice fell a Laughing, and told the King what happened to him in that Sacrifice, and the Interpretation of it. But this fell out a good while after. So *Aratus* and the King plighting their Faith to each other at *Pegæ*, immediately marched towards the Enemy, with whom they had frequent Skirmishes, *Cleomenes* behaving himself very well, and the *Corinthians* making a very brisk defence.

In the mean time *Aristoteles* the *Argive* *Aratus's*, Friend sent privately to him, to let him know, that he would cause *Argos* to Rebel, if he would come thither in Person with some Souldiers. *Aratus* acquainted *Antigonus* therewith, and having fifteen hundred men with him, sailed immediately from the *Isthmus* to *Epidaurus*. But the *Argives* had not Patience till he could arrive, but making a sudden insurrection fell upon *Cleomenes's* Souldiers, and drove them into the Citadel. *Cleomenes* having notice of this, and fearing lest, if the Enemy should possess themselves of *Argos*, they might cut off his retreat home, leaves *Acro-Corinth*, and Marched away by Night to help his Men.

Argos revolts from *Cleomenes*.

Men. He got thither first, and beat off the Enemy, but *Aratus* appearing not long after, and the King approaching with his Forces, he retreated to *Mantineæ*, upon which all the Cities again declared for the *Achaëans*, and *Antigonus* made himself Master of the *Acro-Corinth*. *Aratus* being now chosen General by the *Argives*, perswaded them to make a Present of the Tyrants and Traytors Estates to *Antigonus*. As for *Aristomachus* after having put him to the Rack in the City of *Cercibrææ*, they drown'd him in the Sea, for which *Aratus* was exceedingly blamed, that could suffer a Man to be so unjustly put to Death, who was a good Man, one of his long acquaintance, and one who at his Perswasion had removed himself from the Government, and annexed his City to the *Achaëans*: Besides he stands charged with several other things, as that they so lightly gave *Corinth* to *Antigonus*, as if it had been an inconsiderable Village; that, when *Orchomenos* was Sack'd, they suffer'd him to put into it a *Macedonian* Garrison, that they made a decree, that no Letters, nor Embassy should be sent to any other King, without the consent of *Antigonus*, that they were forced to hire, and maintain the *Macedonians*, that they made Sacrifices, Feasts and Games in Honour of *Antigonus*, *Aratus*

Aratus is blam'd for the death of *Aristomachus*, and upon other accounts.

tus's Citizens setting the Example, and receiving *Antigonus* Lodged and entertain'd at *Aratus's* House. All these miscarriages they charged him with, not considering, that having once put the Reins into *Antigonus's* hands, he was now hurry'd along by the impetuosity of the Regal Power, being Master of nothing but his Tongue, the Liberty of which it was not very safe for him to use neither. For it is very plain, that *Aratus* was much troubled at several things, as appears by the business about the Statues; For *Antigonus* replac'd the Statues of the Tyrants of *Argos* that had been thrown down, and on the contrary threw down the Statues of all those that had taken the *Acro-Corinth*, except that of *Aratus*, nor could he by all intreaties divert him from this resolution. Besides the usage of the *Mantineans* by the *Acheans* seems not to favour of the *Grecian* Temper and Manners; for being Masters of their City by the help of *Antigonus*, they put to death the Chief and most Noted men amongst them: And for the rest, some of them they Sold, others they sent bound in Fetters into *Macedonia*, and made Slaves of their Wives and Children. The Money rais'd hereby was a third Part of it divided amongst themselves, and the other two Thirds were distributed amongst the *Macedonians*: and this

this seems to have been done by a certain Sort of Legal Revenge; for although it be a Barbarous thing for men of the same Nation and Blood thus to Butcher one another in their Fury, yet necessity makes it, as *Simonides* say's, Sweet and something excusable, being the properest Remedy to Appease and Satisfie inflamed and Exasperated minds. But for what was afterwards done to that City, *Aratus* can never be excus'd upon any account, either of Reason or necessity; for the *Argives* having the City freely bestow'd on them by *Antigonus*, and resolving to People it, he being then Chosen the Director of that affair and being General at that time, decreed, that it should no longer be called *Mantineia*, but *Antigonea*, which name it still bears; so that by his means the Memory of the Beautiful *Mantineia* is quite extinguish'd, that the City might bear the Name of the Destroyer of its Citizens. After this *Clomenes* being overthrown in a great Battle near *Sellasia*, forsook the City of *Sparta*, and Fled into *Egypt*, and *Antigonus* having shewn all manner of Civility and Kindness to *Aratus*, retired into *Macedonia*.

Antigonus falling Sick there, sent *Philip* the Heir of his Crown into *Peloponnesus* being yet scarce a Youth, commanding him chiefly to follow the Counsell of *Aratus*, and

Philip the Son of Antigonus comes into Peloponnesus.

and by his means to treat with the Cities, and make himself known to the *Acheans*; and *Aratus* receiving him accordingly, so manag'd him, as to send him back to *Macedon*, both well affected to himself, and full of desire and Ambition, to ingage in the affairs of *Greece*. *Antigonus* being now dead, the *Ætolians* despising the Sloath and Negligence of the *Acheans*; (for being accustomed to be defended by other Mens Valour, and Sheltering themselves under the *Macedonian* Arms, they lived in all careless Dissoluteness,) attempted to make themselves Masters of *Peloponnesus*, and Plundering the *Patrenses* and *Dymeans* in their way, invaded the *Messenian* Territory, wasting the whole Country; at which *Aratus* being Netled, and finding that *Timoxenus* the then General delay'd and wasted time, being now ready to lay down his Office, anticipated his Government, which he was chosen to succeed in by five days, that he might bring relief to the *Messenians*, and Must'ring the *Acheans*, who were both as to their Persons unexercis'd in Arms, and in their minds Averse^d to War, he was overthrown at *Caphyæ*. Having thus begun the War as it seem'd with too much Heat and Passion, he as soon ran into the other extreme, Cooling and Desponding at that rate, that he let pass and oversaw all the fair opportunities

tunities of advantage given by the *Ætolians*, who now sported and junketed, as it were throughout all *Peloponnesus*, with all manner of Insolence and Licentiousness. Wherefore praying once more the assistance of the *Macedonians*, they drew in, and introduced *Philip* to intermeddle in the Affairs of *Greece*, hoping that by reason of his confidence in *Aratus*, and the Friendship he had for him, they should find him very tractable, and to be manag'd as they pleas'd

But the King being over perswaded by *Apelles Megaleus*, and other Courtiers, that in-deavour'd to ruin the Credit *Aratus* had with him, favouring the contrary Faction, strove to have *Eperatus* chosen General by the *Acheans*; but he being scorned by the *Acheans* to the last degree, and *Aratus* taking no care of affairs, all things went to Rack, upon which *Philip* finding his mistake, reconcil'd himself to *Aratus*, and was wholly his, and his affairs increasing both in Power, and Reputation, he depended upon him for the augmentation of both. *Aratus* hereby giving a proof to the world that he was as good a Nursing Father of a Kingdome, as he had been of a Republick; for the actions of the King had in them the touch and Colour of his Judgment and Temper; for the Moderation

E e

shew'd

*Aratus ill
success a-
gainst the
Ætolians
occasion'd the
calling in of
Philip into
Greece.*

*Who suffers
himself to be
govern'd by
the Counsel
of Aratus:*

shew'd by this young Prince to the *Lacedæmonians*, who had incurr'd his displeasure, and his Courteous affability to the *Cretans*, by which in a few days he brought over the whole Island to his obedience, and his expedition against the *Ætolians*, so wonderfully successful, brought *Philip* Reputation for hearkening to good advice, and to *Aratus* for giving it; for which things the the Kings Followers envying him more than ever, and finding they could not prevail against him by their secret practices, they begun openly to abuse and affront him in their debauches, with extraordinary Petulancy and impudence; so that once they threw Stones at him as he retired from Supper to his Tent. At which *Philip* being extremely offended, immediately fined them twenty Talents, and finding afterwards that they still troubled and disturb'd his affairs he put them to death. But not long after being puffed up with the prosperity of his affairs, many and great Vices began to spring forth in him; and his natural bad inclination breaking through the thin Vail cast over them, in a short time discover'd his Native humour. And in the first place he privately injur'd *Aratus the Younger* in his Wife, which was not known of a good while, because he was lodg'd and entertain'd at their house; then he began to be more rough and

Aratus as
fronted by
Philip's
Courtiers.

Is ill us'd
by Philip
himself.

and untractable in publick affairs, and shew'd plainly that he would cast off *Aratus*. Which the *Messenian* affairs first gave occasion to suspect. For they falling into sedition, and *Aratus* delaying to help them, *Philip* came thither a day before him, and threw a bone as it were amongst them, asking privately on the one hand the *Messenian* Officers, if they had not Laws whereby to suppress the insolence of the common People, and on the other the Ring leaders of the People, whether they had not hands to help themselves against their Oppressors? Upon which gathering courage, the Magistrates attempted to lay hands on the heads of the Faction, and they on the other side coming upon the Magistrates with the Rabble kill'd them, and very near two hundred persons with them. *Philip* having committed this fact and set the *Messenians* by the ears together more than before, *Aratus* arrived there and both shew'd plainly that he took it ill himself, and also that he suffer'd his Son bitterly to reproach and revile him. It should seem that the young Man was in love with *Philip*, which made him at that time tell him, that he no longer appear'd to him the handsomest, but the most deform'd of all men after so foul an Action. To all which *Philip* gave him

no answer, though he appear'd much nettled, and mutter'd often to himself whilst he was speaking; but for the Elder *Aratus*, seeming to take all that he said in good part, being also by Nature crafty, and having a good Command of himself, he gave him his hand and led him out of the Theater, and carry'd him with him to *Ithome*, to Sacrifice there to *Jupiter* and take a view of the place; for it is a post as fortifyable as the *Acro-Corinth*, and with a Garrison is as strong, and does as much command the neighbouring Country. *Philip* therefore went up into this Castle, and having offer'd Sacrifice there, receiving the Entrails with both his hands from the Priest, he shew'd them to *Aratus* and *Demetrius Pharius*, presenting them sometimes to the one, and sometimes to the other asking them what they judg'd by the tokens in the Sacrifice it were best for him to do with the Fort, whether to keep it for himself or restore it to the *Messenians*. *Demetrius* smiling answer'd him, *If you have in you the soul of a Priest you will restore it, but if of a Prince you will hold the Ox by both the horns.* By which *Ænigma* he made him understand that *Peloponnesus* would be wholly submissive and at his devotion, if he added *Ithomata* to the *Acro-Corinth*. *Aratus* said not a word of a good while, but *Philip* entreat-

ing

ing him to declare his opinion, he spoke thus. "Many and great hills are there in *Crete*, and many Rocks in *Bæotia* and *Phocis*, and many inexpugnable places are there both near the Sea, and in the mid-land in *Acarnania*, and yet all these People obey your Orders though you have not possessed your self of any one of these Places. Thieves nest themselves in rocks and precipices, but the strongest fort a King can have is fidelity and affection. These have open'd to you the *Cretian* Sea, these made you Master of *Peloponnesus*, and by the help of these, young as you are, are you become Captain of the one, and Lord of the other. As he was thus speaking, *Philip* return'd the entrails to the Priest, and pulling him along with him by the hand, come on then said he let us follow this course, as if he thought himself forced by him, and deprived of the Town.

From this time *Aratus* began to withdraw from Court, and retir'd by degrees from *Philip's* Company; for when he was preparing to march into *Epirus*, and desir'd him that he would accompany him thither, he excus'd himself and stay'd at home, apprehending that he should get nothing but discredit by his Actions. But when afterwards having shamefully lost his Fleet

E c 3

against

Aratus falls
out with
Philip.

against the *Romans*, and miscarry'd in all his designs he return'd into *Peloponnesus*, where endeavouring first to win the *Messenians* by his artifices, and failing therein, he fell openly to spoil and wast their Country, then *Aratus* fell out with him down right, and utterly renounc'd his Friendship. For he began then to smell out the injuries done to his Son in his Wife, and though they vexed him to the heart, yet he conceal'd them from him; for he could only let him know he had been abus'd, but could not help him to the means to revenge himself; for strange and unexpected was the change made in *Philip*, who of a mild King, and modest and chaste Youth, became a lascivious man, and most cruell Tyrant; though in reality this was not a change of his nature, but a bold unmasking of his ill inclinations, being no longer in awe of any man, which by reason of his fear he had a long time dissembled. For that the respect he from the beginning bore to *Aratus* had a great alloy of fear and awe, appears evidently from what he did to him at last. For being desirous to put him to death, not thinking himself, whilst he was alive, to be at liberty either as King or Tyrant; he durst not attempt to do it by open force, but commanded *Taurion* one of his Cap-

tains

tains and Familiars to make him away secretly, and that by poison in his absence. *Taurion* therefore contracted a friendship with *Aratus*, and gave him a dose not of your strong and violent poisons, but such as cause gentle hectical heats, and a hollow Cough, and so by degrees bring on certain death. *Aratus* perceiv'd what was done to him, but knowing that it was in vain to make any words of it, bore it patiently and with silence as if it had been some common and usual distemper. Only once a Friend of his being with him in his chamber he spit some blood, which his Friend observing and wondring at, *These, O Cephalon, said he, are the rewards of a Kings Love.* Thus dyed he in *Ægium* in his seventeenth Generalship. The *Achæans* were very desirous that he should be bury'd there with a Funeral and Monument suitable to his life; but the *Sicyonians* be-
 leiving it a dishonour to them if he were interred any where but in their City, prevail'd with the *Achæans* to grant them the disposal of the Body.

But there being an ancient Law that no person should be bury'd within the Walls of their City, and a strong superstition also as to this matter, they sent to *Diphos* to ask counsel of the Pythioness, who return'd this Answer.

E c 4

Thon

Taurion
poisons Ara-
tus by the
command of
Philip.

He dyes at
Ægium.

*Thou ask'st Sicyon, Aratus Resting place,
If thee his Urn and Funèral Rites shall Grace,
Who grutches him the Light Earth where he lies
Is the Disgrace oth' Sea, the Land, and Skies.*

This Oracle being brought, all the *Acha-*
ans rejoyc'd much at it, but especially the
Sycionians, who changing their Mourning
And is bury'd into publick joy, immediately fetcht the
at Sicyon Body from *Ægium*, and in a kind of So-
lemn procession brought it into the City,
being Crown'd with Garlands, and array'd
in white garments with singing and dancing,
and choosing the most conspicuous place, they
bury'd him there, as the Founder and Saviour
of their City. The Place is to this day call'd
Aratium, and there they yearly make two
Solemn Sacrifices to him, the one on the day
he deliver'd the City from Tyranny * being
the fifth day of the Month *Daisium* which
the *Athenians* call *Antheſterion*, and this
Sacrifice they call *Soteria*. The other on
his Birth-day; now the first of these was
performed by the Priest of *Jupiter Soter*,
the second by the Priest of *Aratus* wearing
a linnen girdle not pure white but mingled
with Purple. The Hymns were sung to
the harp by the Choire belonging to
Bacchus; the Procession was lead up by
the *Reſtor of the Gymnaſium* with the boys
and young men, these were follow'd by
the

* The first of
November.

the Senate wearing Garlands, and other
Citizens such as pleas'd, whereof some small
footsteps remain to this day. But the
greatest part of the Ceremonies have through
time, and other intervening accidents been
disused. And such, as History tells us, was
the life and manners of the elder *Aratus*.
And for the younger, *Philip* abominably
wicked by Nature, and cruelly insulting,
gave him such poisonous Medicines as though
they did not kill him indeed, yet made
him run stark mad, and drove him to at-
tempt horrid and absurd things, and to
desire to do actions, and satisfy appetites,
that were ridiculous and shameful; so that
his death which happen'd to him young and
in the flower of his Age, cannot be so much
esteem'd a misfortune as a deliverance and
end of his misery. But *Philip* paid dearly
all the rest of his life, for these viola-
tions of friendship and hospitality, for
being overcome by the *Romans*, he was
forc'd to give up all into their hands,
and being depriv'd of his other dominions he
lost all his ships also except five, and was con-
strain'd to pay a fine of a thousand Talents,
and to give his Son for Hostage, only out
of meer pity he was suffer'd to keep
Macedonia and its dependences, where con-
tinually putting to death the noblest of his
Subjects, and the nearest relations he had,
he

The youngest
Aratus poi-
son'd also by
Philip dyes,

Philip
smarts suffi-
ciently for
these mor-
ders.

he fill'd the whole Kingdom with horror and hatred of him. And whereas amidst so many misfortunes, he had but one good chance which was the having of a Son extremely vertuous, him, through Jealousie, and envy at the honour the *Romans* had for him, he caus'd to be murder'd, and left his Kingdome to *Persens*, who as some say, was not legitimate, but born of a Semstrefs called *Gnathenion*. This was he whom *Paulus Aemilius* led in Triumph, and in whom ended the Succession of *Antigonus's* line and Kingdome. But the Posterity of *Aratus* continues still in our days at *Sicyon* and *Pellene*.

THE

ARTAXERXES.



(427)

THE
L I F E
O F
ARTAXERXES.

Translated from the Greek,
By Mr. O A K L Y.

VOLUME V.

THe first *Artaxerxes* among all the Crowned Heads of *Persia*, the most remarkable for a meek and Noble Spirit, was surnamed *Longimanus*; his right hand being longer than his left: And he was the Son of *Xerxes*. The second, whose Story I am now writing, being for his vast memory stil'd *Mnemon* was his Grand-son by his Daughter *Parysatis*: Who brought *Darius* four Sons, the Eldest *Artaxerxes*, the next

next *Cyrus*, and two younger then these *Ostanes*, and *Oxathes*. That *Cyrus* borrow'd his Name of the ancient *Cyrus*, as they say he had his from the Sun, which in the *Persian* Language is call'd *Cyrus*. And *Artaxerxes* was at first call'd *Arscas*, though *Dinon* says *Oartes*. But it is highly improbable that *Ctesias* (though otherwise he has cast into his book an universal Rapfody of incredible and senseless Fables) should be ignorant of the name of the King, as being Physitian in ordinary to him, his Wife, his Mother, and Children. This *Cyrus* presently even in his tender years, was fierce and violent; on the other side *Artaxerxes* seem'd in all respects more gentle and more soft, more effeminate in his Passions. He marry'd a fair and Vertuous Lady with the consent of his Parents, but kept her as expressly against it. For King *Darius* having put her brother to death, was projecting likewise how to destroy her too. But *Arscas* throwing himself at his Mothers Feet, and having mov'd her with whole streams of tears, at last with much ado perswaded her that they should neither put to death, nor divorce that his dear Consort from him. However *Cyrus* was the Queens darling, and the Son whom she most desir'd to settle in the Throne. And therefore his

Father

Father *Darius* now lying ill, and he being sent for from Sea to Court, set out thence with a full gale of hopes, that by her means he should be declar'd his Successour in the Empire. For *Parysatis* urg'd this specious plea in his behalf, which *Xerxes* by the advice of *Demaratus* had of old made use of, viz. that she had brought him *Arscas*, when he was a Subject, but *Cyrus* when a King. Notwithstanding she prevail'd not with *Darius*, but the eldest Son *Arscas* was pronounc'd King, his name being chang'd into *Artaxerxes*; and *Cyrus* left Prefect of *Lydia*, and Duke of the Maritime Provinces. It was not long after the decease of *Darius* before his Successour went among the *Pasargades*, that he might consummate the ceremony of his Inauguration by the assistance of the *Persian* Priest. There is a Temple dedicated to a Warlike Goddesse, which a man would guess, to be *Minerva*; into which, when the Royal Person to be anointed has pass'd he must strip himself of his own robe, and put on that which *Cyrus* the First wore before he attain'd to the Monarchy, then having devour'd a frail of figs he must eat Turpentine, and drink a cup made of vinegar and milk. To which if they superadde any other rites, it is unknown to any but those that are present at them.

Now

Now *Artaxerxes* being about to address himself to this Solemnity, *Tisaphernes* came to him bringing a certain Priest, who having train'd up *Cyrus* in his youth according to the establish'd discipline of *Persia*, and having taught him Philosophy was likely to be as much concern'd as any man that his Pupil mounted not the Throne. And for that reason his veracity was the less question'd when he charg'd *Cyrus* as though he had been about to lie in wait for the King in the Temple, and to assault and assassinate him as he was putting off his Garment. Some affirm that he was apprehended upon this impeachment, others that he had enter'd the Temple, and was pointed out there, as he lay lurking, by the Priest. But as he was going to execution his Mother clasp'd him in her Arms, and having bound him with the tresses of her hair she joyn'd his neck close to her own, and by her bitter lamentation, by her most formal intercession to *Artaxerxes* for him she revers'd the decree; and he remanded him to his former Province. In which he sat uneasie, nor did he so well remember his delivery as his chain, being through his rage more eagerly desirous of the Kingdom than before. Some say that he revolted from his Royal Brother, because he had not a revenue pro-

proportionable to the daily expence he was at in the support of his Family, in that proclaiming him no lesse fool then Rebel. For had he had nothig else, yet he had a Mother ready with a stretcht-out hand to supply him with whatever he could desire whether for his use or Grandeur. But the great number of Souldiers, who being hir'd from many places were maintain'd, as *Xenophon* informs us, for his service, by his Confidants both Domestick and Foreign do sufficiently evince his riches. For he assembled them not together in a Body, as yet concealing his enterprize; But he had Agents every where listing strangers upon several pretences. Now both *Parysatis* being at Court with his Majesty, remov'd all jealousies, and *Cyrus* himself always wrote in an humble and dutifull manner to him; one while soliciting Princely bounty, another drawing a Counter-charge against *Tisaphernes*, as if his emulation and contest had been wholly with him. Moreover there was a certain natural dilatoriness in the King, which was mistaken by many for Clemency. Yet indeed in the beginning of his Reign he seem'd to exemplifie the gentleness of the first *Artaxerxes*, being more accessible in his Person, and excessive in the distribution both of honours and rewards to the

the deserving. He was obliging even in his punishments taking out the sting and contumely of them, and in the intercourse of gifts he delighted no otherwise in those that offer'd them to, than in those that receiv'd them from him, appearing still when he gave cheerful and generous. Nor truly was there any thing, however inconsiderable, given him, which he did not deign kindly to accept of; in so much that when one *Omises* had presented him with a very large Pomegranate, by this light, said he, this man, were he entrusted with it, would soon turn a small City into a great one. Afterwards some offering him one thing, some another, as he was in his Progress, a certain poor Labourer having got nothing in a readiness to make a present to him of, ran streight to the River side, and taking up water in his hands he offer'd it to him; with which *Artaxerxes* was so well pleas'd, that he sent him a large goblet of massy Gold, and a thousand *Darius's*. And to *Euclidas* a *Lacedemonian*, speaking many things to him like a frontless, arrogant fellow, he commanded one of his Tribunes thus to express himself from him, that I give thee leave to say what thou wilt to me, but remember that I, as King, may say and do too what I please. At a Hunt *Tiribazus* having shew'd him

him that his Robe was rent, he demanded of him what he should do? He answering, may it please your Majesty to put on another and give me that; the King did so, saying withal, I bestow this on thee *Tiribazus*, but I charge thee not to wear it. He, little regarding the injunction laid upon him (though he was no obstinately ill, but only an empty half-witted Man) streightway put the Gown on his back, and bedeckt himself with jewels of Gold, and Womanish attire, at which the whole Court was angry; it being absolutely against the Laws of *Persia*, for any but the Kings to wear them. But his Majesty laugh'd at him, and told him, thou hast my leave to wear those Golden toys as a Woman, and the Robe of State as a Fool.

And whereas none usually sat down to eat with the King beside his Mother and Wife, the former being plac'd above, the other below him; *Artaxerxes* invited also to his table his two younger Brothers *Ostanes*, and *Oxathres*. But the Chariot of his Wife *Statira* presented the *Persians* with the most taking sight, being always drawn with its Curtains down, and allowing the Ladies of the Country both to salute and approach her. Which thing endear'd his Government to the People. Yet some over busie, Factious men that

F f

delighted

delighted in innovation, gave it out, as their opinion, that *Cyrus*, being a man of a great spirit, an excellent Warriour, and a generous Master, was in these circumstances desirable, and that the largeness of their Empire absolutely requir'd a daring and ambitious Prince. *Cyrus*, then not only relying upon those of his own Low Province near the Sea, but upon many of those in the higher Countrys near the King, attempts a War against him. He wrote likewise to the *Lacedemonians* exciting them to his assistance, and to supply him with some stout men; assuring them that to the Foot-men that should appear he would give Horses, and to the Horsemen Chariots; that upon those who had Farms he would bestow Lordships, that those who were Lords of Villages, he would make so of Cities, and that those who would be his Souldiers should receive their pay not stinted by account, but in a full heapt measure. Besides among many other things he fondly extoll'd himself, for he said he was inform'd with a greater Soul, that he was more a Philosopher and a better Magician, and that he could both drink and bear more Wine than his Brother *Artaxerxes*. Who, as he averr'd, through fear and effeminacy did neither in his Chaces ride his horse, nor in dangers sit without

without tottering upon his Throne. The *Lacedemonians*, his Letter being read, sent a Billet to *Clearchus* commanding him to obey *Cyrus* in all things: So *Cyrus* march'd towards the King, having under his conduct a numerous host of *Barbarians*, and but little less then thirteen thousand Stipendiary *Grecians*; assigning first one cause, then another for his expedition. Yet the true reason lay not long conceal'd, but *Tisaphernes* went to the King in person to declare it. Thereupon the Court was all in an uproar and tumult, the Queens Mother bearing almost the whole blame of the enterprize, and her retainers being not only suspected but accus'd. But she who gave her the most disturbance was *Statira*, who passionately resented this War, and cry'd out; what is now become of your Promises? What of your intercessions? By which having free'd him that had been guilty of Treason against his Brother, you have embroil'd us in War and troubles? For which words *Parysatis* hating *Statira*, and being naturally implacable and Savage in her anger and revenge, she consulted how she might destroy her. But since *Dion* has left it upon Record, that her bloody project took effect in the time of the War, and *Ctesias* after it; I shall not quarrel the Chronology of the latter: it being

very unlikely, that he, who was a Spectatour of the whole Scene of affairs, should not know where to fix the *Æra* of one so considerable. Nor indeed had he any cause designedly to misplace its date in his Narrative of it, though in his History upon other occasions he frequently makes excursions from truth to meer Fiction and Romance.

Now as *Cyrus* was upon the march towards the Court, tidings were brought him, as though the King did deliberate about it, and were not in haste to fight and presently to joyn battle with him; but to wait in the heart of his Kingdom, till there should be a general confluence of his Forces thither from all parts of his Dominions. And to convince him of this news he had cast a Trench in his way ten fadoms in breadth, and as many in depth, the length of it being no less then four hundred furlongs. Nor did he regard *Cyrus* after he had pass'd over it, being within that place for which it was made a fence, till he had advanc'd almost to the City of *Babylon*. Then *Tiribazus*, as the report goes, being the first that was so hardy to tell his Majesty, that he ought not to defer the conflict, nor quitting *Media*, *Babylon*, and *Susa*, poorly to skulk in *Persia*, as having an Army far more numerous than his enemies and

an infinite Company both of Nobles, and Captains that were greater Souldiers, and Politicians than *Cyrus* himself; he resolv'd to begin the fight, as soon as 'twas possible for him. Thereupon at first, and in an instant, appearing gloriously at the head of nine hundred thousand well marshall'd men, he so startled and surpriz'd the Rebels, who with a boldness equal to their contempt march'd against him neither in order nor well arm'd, that *Cyrus* with much noise and tumult, was scarce able to range and compose them. Then the King leading on his men silently, and by leisure, made the *Grecians* stand amaz'd at his good discipline, who expected irregular shouting and leaping, a huge confusion and distraction in so infinite a multitude as that was. He also wisely plac'd the choice of his armed Chariots in the Front of his own Phalanx, over against the *Grecian* Troops, that by the fierceness of their onset, they might cut down their ranks before they clos'd with them.

But forasmuch as this battle hath been describ'd by many Historians, and particularly by *Xenophon*, who represents it to the eye by pointing at things, not as tho past, but present, and by his lively draught of it, engages his hearer when recited in a seeming concern and danger; it would

be folly in me to give any larger account of it then barely to mention those things which he has omitted, and yet deserve to be recorded. The place then in which the two Armies were drawn out for the fight, was call'd *Cunaxa*, being about five hundred furlongs distant from *Babylon*; where *Clearchus* beseeching *Cyrus*, before the dispute, to retire behind the Battalion of *Macedonians*, and not expose himself to hazard; for his honour, they say, he thus repli'd, What strange advice is this *Clearchus*? Would you have me, who aspire to the Empire, appear to all these unworthy of it? But as *Cyrus's* offence was in rushing headlong into the midst of dangers, and not keeping aloof from what threatned him with ruin; so *Clearchus* was as much too blame, if not more, who refus'd with his men to confront the main body of the Enemy, where the King stood, and joyn'd his right wing to the River, for fear he should be surrounded. For aiming altogether at safety, and desiring nothing but to sleep in a whole Skin, it had been his best way not to have stirr'd from home. But he having come arm'd a vast distance from the Sea-coast, no other thing inducing him to it, but that he might settle *Cyrus* in the Imperial Throne; and yet afterwards looking out for a Place and Station, wherein he took footing, not that

he might preserve him, under whose pay and conduct he was, but that he might himself engage with more ease and security, seem'd much like one that through fear of present dangers had quitted the consideration of his all at Stake, and been false to the design of his expedition. For it is evident from the very event of the battle, that none of those who were in array round the Kings person were able to stand the Shock of the *Grecians* Charge; and had they been beaten out of the Field, and *Artaxerxes* either fled or fallen, that *Cyrus* by his conquest had purchas'd not only safety, but a Crown. And therefore *Clearchus* is more to be condemn'd for his caution, which was manifestly the destruction of the Life and Fortune of *Cyrus*, than he could be for his heat and rashness. For had the King made it his business to discover a place, where having posted the *Grecians*, he might encounter them with the least hazard, he would never have found out any other, but that which was most remote from himself and those near him; from whence when he was routed, he was insensible of it; and though *Clearchus* had the Victory, yet *Cyrus* being ignorant of it made no advantage of it before his fall. Yet he knew well enough what was expedient to be done, and accordingly commanded

Clearchus with his men to stand in the middle of his Forces. Who when he had repli'd that it should be as well manag'd as possible, afterwards spoil'd all. For the *Grecians*, where they were, hew'd down the *Barbarians* till they were weary, and chac'd them successfully a very great way. But *Cyrus* being mounted upon a fierce, headstrong and unlucky horse, as *Ctesias* says, call'd *Pasacas*; *Artagerfes* the Leader of the *Cadisiens* gallop'd up to him, crying aloud, O thou most unjust and senseless wretch, who art a reproach to that most August and honourable name among the *Persians*, *Cyrus*; thou art come leading on the renowned *Grecians* in an ominous Voyage to the Plunder of thy Country men. Thou fondly hopest too, unnatural Traitor as thou art, to destroy thy Sovereign and Brother; who, as thou shalt soon experimentally perceive, is master of ten thousand times ten thousand better men than thou art. For thou shalt certainly here lose thy head, before thou seest the face of our King; which when he had said he cast his Javelin at him. But his Coat of mail stoutly repell'd it, and *Cyrus* was not wounded; yet the stroke falling heavy upon him, he reel'd upon his Steed. Then *Artagerfes* turning his horse, *Cyrus* luckily threw a Dart, and struck the point of it through his neck

near

near the Shoulder-bone: So that thereupon it is indeed almost universally own'd that *Artagerfes* was slain by him.

Now as to the death of *Cyrus*, since *Xenophon*, as being himself no eye-witness of it, toucheth upon it but lightly, and in few words; it may not be amiss perhaps to run over on the one hand what *Dion*, and on the other what *Ctesias* has said of it. *Dion* then affirms that the death of *Artagerfes*, *Cyrus* having violently attack'd the Vanguard of *Artaxerxes*, wounded his horse, and so he was dismounted; and when *Tiribazus* had soon lifted him up upon another, and said to him my Liege, remember this day, which ought not to be forgotten, that *Cyrus* again spurring up his horse struck down *Artaxerxes*. But at the third assault the King being enrag'd, and saying to those near him, that death was more eligible than such insolence, he made up to *Cyrus*, who madly and blindly rush'd upon the Spears of the Enemy. So the King struck him with his javelin, as likewise did all those that were round about him. And thus *Cyrus* falls, as some say, by the hand of the King; as others by the dart of a *Carian*, whom *Artaxerxes* for a reward of that his achievement did the honour to let him ever after bear a Golden Cock upon his Spear before the first rank of his Army. For the *Persians*

scans call those of *Caria* Cocks, by reason of the Crests with which they adorn their Helmets.

But the account of *Ctesias*, that I may draw in little what he has branch't out at large, is thus as follows; *Cyrus* after the slaughter of *Artagerfes* rode up fiercely against the King, as he did against him, not either exchanging a word with the other, But *Ariens* *Cyrus's* confident darted first at the King, yet wounded him not. Then the King let fly a Dart at his Brother, but miss'd him, though he both hit and slew *Tisaphernes*, a man truly generous, and devoted to the interest of *Cyrus*, who having directed his Lance with a surer hand against the King, pierced his breast with it quite through his Armour two inches deep, so that he tumbled with this stroke upon the Earth. At which those that attended him being put to flight and disorder, he rising with a few, among whom was *Ctesias*, and recovering a little Hill not far off rested himself. But *Cyrus's* horse being high-mettled carri'd him a great way into the midst of his Enemies, the approaching night making it hard for them to know him, or his followers to find him. However being made fierce with conquest, being withall naturally bold and violent, he pass'd through them crying out, and that more than once

in

in the *Persian* Language submit your selves poor men, submit; which they indeed did throwing themselves down at his feet. Then his Tiara (which kind of Hat none but Princes of the blood, or Generals wore) dropt off his head, and a lusty young *Persian* by name *Mithridates* running by, and not knowing who he was, with a Dart pierced one of his Temples near his eye, out of which wound much blood gush'd, so that *Cyrus* swooning and senseless, fell off his horse, which stragling ran away from him. But *Mithridates's* Mate gather'd up the Caparison of his horse, and his Cap that had slipt off all died with Gore. Then some few *Eunuchs* that were with him, being by reason of that stroke scarcely and with much difficulty come to himself, endeavour'd to mount him upon another horse, and so to convey him safe away. Now because he was not able to ride, nor to walk without great toil by himself, they led and supported him, being indeed in body vertiginous and reeling, but heal'd in his mind by the comfortable thoughts of his Victory; whilst he hears the vanquish'd salute him King, and sue to their Lord and Master *Cyrus* for Grace and mercy: In the mean time some wretched and indigent *Cannians*, who upon the account of some vile employments follow'd the Royall standard

dard, were by chance joyn'd with those attendants of *Cyrus*, supposing them to be of their own party. But as soon as they discover'd their red coats, when all the Loyal Subjects wore white ones; they knew that they were enemies. One therefore of them not dreaming that it was *Cyrus* ventur'd to strike him behind with his Spear. So *Cyrus* being ham-string'd and falling, he did at the same time dash his wounded Temple against a stone, and dy'd. Thus runs *Ctesias* account, wherein methinks he as it were, with a dull knife saws him to death, and has much ado to shut up the Tragedy. As he now lay dead *Artosyras* his Majesties Intelligencer, it seems, pass'd by on horse-back; and having observ'd the Eunuchs of *Cyrus* dolefully deploring his Fate, he ask't *Pariscas* the most trusty of them; saying, whom dost thou sit by here Lamenting? He repli'd, do not you see, O! *Artosyras*, that it is my Master *Cyrus*? Then *Artosyras* wondring bid the Eunuch be of good Cheer, and keep the dead Body safe. So going in all haste to *Artaxerxes*, (who now despaired of the success of his affairs, and was highly indispos'd both by his drowth and wound) he with much joy assur'd him that he had seen *Cyrus* dead. Thereupon he presently desir'd in person to go to the place, and commanded

manded *Artosyras* to conduct him where he lay. Yet seeing there was a great noise made about the *Grecians*, and that they were become formidable, as being said to be in Chace of their enemies, and to conquer and carry all before them; he thought fit to send out no less than thirty men with Torches in their hands to inquire more fully into the truth of the matter. In the interm there being in appearance, but a few steps Between him and death, by reason of his thirst; his Eunuch *Satibarzanes* ran about seeking out drink for him. For the place had no water in it, and he was then at a good distance from his Camp. After a long search he at last luckily met with one of those poor *Cannian* Slaves, who had in a nasty leathern bottle about four pints of base stinking water; which he took, and bare, and gave it to the King, which when he had drunk all off, *Satibarzanes* ask't him if he did not altogether loath that nauseous draught; but he swore by all he thought sacred, that he never drank wine with such a gust, nor water though out of the swiftest or purest Stream. And therefore, says he, if after a hearty desire to reward him, who gave thee this, I shall not have opportunity to do it, I humbly beg of Heaven, to make him rich and prosperous. No sooner

ner had he said this, but his thirty Scots arriv'd with joy, and triumph in their looks, bringing him the tidings of his unexpected fortune. And now he was encourag'd, by the great number and confluence of his Souldiers that flockt to him, and he descended into the plain, with many lights and flambeaus round about him. As soon as he came near the dead Traitour, and according to a certain law of the *Persians*, his right hand, and head were lopt off from his body; he gave a strict charge that the latter should be brought to him, and grasping the hair of it, which was long and bushy, he shew'd it to his men, as they were wavering, and still upon the Wing. Who were amaz'd at it, and did him homage; so that there were presently seventy thousand of them got about him, and enter'd the Camp again together. He led out to the fight, (as *Ctesias* affirms,) four hundred thousand. But *Dion* and *Xenophon* aver that there were many more then forty Myriads actually engag'd. As to the number of the slain, as the Catalogue of them was given up to *Artaxerxes*; *Ctesias* says they were nine thousand, but that they appear'd to him no fewer then twenty. Neither of which accounts is without Controversie.

But that is a manifest untruth of his to
say

say that he was sent along with *Phayllus* the *Zacynthian*, and some others to the *Grecians*. For *Xenophon* knew well enough that *Ctesias* was always resident at Court; for he makes mention of him in that History, of which he is certainly the Authour. And therefore had he come, and been deputed the interpreter of such momentous words; *Xenophon* sure would not have struck his name out of the Embassy any more then he did that of *Phayllus*. But *Ctesias* (as 'tis evident) being strangely vain-glorious and no less a favourer of the *Lacedemonians* and *Clearches*, never fails to assume to himself some Province in his narrative, with which being taken up he records many and glorious things of *Clearchus* and *Sparta*. When the battle was over *Artaxerxes* sent goodly and magnificent gifts to the Son of *Artageses*, whom *Cyrus* slew. He conferr'd likewise high honours upon *Ctesias* and others, and having found out the *Cannian*, who gave him the bottle of water, he made him of a poor obscure man a rich Peer. As for the punishments he inflicted upon delinquents, there was a kind of harmony betwixt them and the crimes. He gave order that one *Arbaces* a *Mede*, that had fled in the fight to *Cyrus*, and again deserted him at his fall, should take up a Whore stark naked, and carry her hanging by his neck

neck a whole day round about the Market-place; as one that censur'd his Cowardice and effeminacy, not his treason and malice, Another, besides that he had revolted to them, having falsely vaunted that he had kill'd two of the Rebels; he decreed that three needles should be struck through his tongue. Now both supposing that with his own hand he had cut off *Cyrus*, and being willing that all men should think and say so, he richly presented *Mithridates* who first wounded him, and charg'd those by whom he convey'd the gifts to him to tell him, that his Majesty hath honour'd you with these his favours because you found and brought him the horse trappings, and hat of *Cyrus*. The *Carian* also by whom *Cyrus* being wounded in the Ham died, suing for his reward; he commanded those that brought it him to say that the King presents you with this as a secondary gratification for the good news told him: For first *Artosyrus*, and next to him, you assur'd him of the decease of the grand Traytor. So *Mithridates* retir'd without clamour indeed, yet with much trouble and high resentments. But the unfortunate *Carian* was possess'd through his indiscretion with a common infirmity. For being ravish'd with the sight of the Princely gifts that were before him, and
being

being tempted thereupon to challenge and aspire to things above him, he deign'd not to accept the Kings present, as a retribution for his intelligence; but storming, appeal'd to witnesses, and declar'd it aloud, that he, and none but he had kill'd *Cyrus*, and that he was with no small injury depriv'd of that Glory. These words, when they came to his ear, did much exasperate the King, so that forthwith he sentenc'd him to be beheaded. But the Queen Mother, being in the Kings presence, said, let not your Majesty upon such easie terms discharge this pernicious *Carian*, rather let me deal out to him the chastisement for his insolent expressions. When he had consign'd him over to the mercy of *Parysatis*, she charg'd the Executioners to take up the man, and stretch him upon the rack for ten dayes, then punching out his eyes to drop molten bras into his ears till he expir'd with the very anguish of his tortures.

Mithridates also, within a short time after, miserably perished by his own folly: For being invited to a Feast where the King and Queen Mother's Eunuchs were, he came array'd in cloath of Gold, a Robe he receiv'd from the King. After they went to eat, the Eunuch that was the greatest Favourite of *Parysatis*, thus speaks to him; A lovely Garment surely *Mithridates*

is this his Majesty has given you, the Chains and Bracelets are glorious, your Scymeter of invaluable worth: How happy hath he made you, and the object of every eye? To whom he, being a little pot valiant, replied, what are these things *Sparamixes*? Sure I am, I shew'd my self to the King in that day of Tryal to be one deserving more stately and specious gifts than these. At which *Sparamixes* smiling said, I do not malign or envy you *Mithridates*, but since the *Grecians* tell us, that Wine is the Mirrour of Truth, I would ask you, my Friend, what glorious or mighty matter was it to find a Hat, that had slip't off a Horse, and to bring it to the King? And this he spoke, not as ignorant of the truth, but desiring to unbosome him to the company, he provok'd the vanity of the man, made ungovernably talkative by drink. He accordingly could not forbear expressing himself to this effect, Talk you what you please of Horse-trappings, Hats, and such trifles: I tell you plainly, that this hand was the bane of *Cyrus*: For I threw not my dart as *Artagerjes* did in vain and to no purpose, but hitting him and peircing him through the Temple very near his Eye, I prostrated the Man and he died of that wound. Then the rest with dejected looks did already read the destiny and ruin of *Mithridates*. But he who treated them

them, said to him, Prithy, my Friend, let us eat and drink now revereing the good fortune of our Prince, and let us wave this discourse, which is too weighty for and above us. Presently after *Sparamixes* told *Parysatis* what he said, and she told the King; who was wonderfully enrag'd at it, as having the lie given him thereby, and being in danger to lose the most glorious, and most pleasant circumstance of his Conquest. For it was his desire, that every one, whether Greek or Barbarian, should believe, that in the mutual assaults and conflicts between him and his Brother, he giving and receiving a blow, was himself indeed wounded, but that the other lost his life. And therefore he decreed, that *Mithridates* should be put to death in Boats, which execution is after the following manner. Taking two Boats fram'd exactly to fit and answer each other, they lay down in one of them the Malefactor that suffers, upon his back; then covering it with the other, and so setting them together, that through the opposite sections the head, hands, and feet of him may be kept out, and the rest of his body lie hidden within; they offer him food, and if he refuse to eat it, they force him to do it, by pricking his eyes; then having eaten, they drench him with a mixture of Milk and Honey for a Potion, not only pouring it in-

to his mouth but all over his face; which, since they constantly turn his eyes directly towards towards the Sun, wholly disappears by reason of the multitude of Flies, that stick close to it: And discharging that within, which those that eat and drink must needs do, creepers and vermine spring out of the corruption and rottenness of the excrement, by which peircing into the very bowels of him, his body is consum'd. So when the man is manifestly dead, the uppermost being taken off, they see his flesh devour'd, and swarms of such noisom creatures preying upon, and as it were growing to his inwards. Thus *Mithridates* languishing for seventeen dayes at last expired.

Mesabates the Kings Eunuch, who had cut off the hand and head of *Cyrus*, remained still as a mark for *Parysatis's* vengeance. Whereas therefore he was so circumspect, that he gave her no advantage against him, she fram'd this kind of snare for him. She was a very ingenious woman upon other accounts, but an excellent Artist at Dice, and therefore before the War had often played with the King: After the War to, when he was at leisure, and inclin'd to melancholy; she challeng'd him to play at dice with her for a thousand *Darius's*, and willingly let him win them, and paid him down in gold, yet pretending to be concern'd

cern'd for her loss, and that she would gladly have beaten him, she press'd him to begin a new Game for an Eunuch; in which he comply'd with her. But first they agreed, that each of them might except five of the most trusty Eunuchs, and that out of the rest of them, the Loser should yield up any the Winner should make choice of. Upon these conditions they play'd. Thus being vigorous upon her design, and intent upon her Game, and the Dice running luckily for her, when she had got the Game, she pitch upon *Mesabates*, who was not in the number of the five excepted. Now before the King could suspect the matter, having delivered him up to the Tormentors, she strictly enjoyn'd them to flea him alive, to nail his distorted body to three Crosses, and to stretch his skin upon stakes separately from it.

These things being done, and the King taking them hainously, and being hugely incens'd against her, she with raillery and laughter told him, You are a jolly and happy man indeed, if you are so much disturb'd for the sake of an old rascally Eunuch, when I, though I have thrown away a thousand *Darius's*, exclaim not at, but acquiesce in my fortune. *Artaxerxes* then repenting that he had been thus deluded

by her, hush'd up all. But *Statira* did both upon other accounts evidently oppose her, and was irrationally angry with her for this, that she did against all law and humanity sacrifice the Eunuchs, and the Kings loyal Subjects to the Ghost of her darling *Cyrus*.

Now after that *Tisaphernes* had circumvented, and with Oaths perfidiously betray'd *Clearchus* and other Leaders, and taking them, had sent them bound in Chains to the King; *Ctesias* says, that he was importun'd by *Clearchus*, to supply him with a Comb, and that when he had it, and had comb'd his head with it, he was much pleas'd with the use of it, and gave him a Ring, which might be a token of their intimacy to all his Relations and friends in *Sparta*; and that the Sculpture in this Signet, was a Set of grave Matrons dancing. He tells us that the Souldiers his fellow captives, did subduct from, and excise the food sent to *Clearchus*, giving him but little or nothing of it. Which thing *Ctesias* says he rectified, causing a better allowance to be convey'd to him, and that a distinct share should be distributed to the Souldiers by themselves; adding that he minister'd to and supply'd him thus at the expence and instance of *Parysatis*. Now there being a Gammon of Bacon daily carry'd to *Clearchus* among

among other dishes, he said, that she advis'd and instructed him, that he ought, striking it over head in the flesh, and hiding it, to send him a small knife, and not suffer the Fate of his Friend to be dispenc'd by the tyranny of the King. But withal he assures us, that through fear and tenderness he refus'd it, and the rather, because *Artaxerxes* had promis'd and sworn to his Mother, beseeching him to spare *Clearchus*, that he would do so: Yet he says, that afterwards, at the instigation of his Wife *Statira*, he put every man of them to death besides *Menon*, and that thence forwards *Parysatis* watcht her advantage against *Statira*, and made up Poyson for her; affirming therein improbable things, and such as imply the unparallel'd rashness of her Guilt, if she committed so execrable an Act, as to dare, out of respect to *Clearchus*, to attempt the life of the lawful Queen, that was Mother to those, who were Heirs of the Empire. But it is evident enough, that this part of his History, is devoted as a Shrine to the memory of *Clearchus*. For he would have us believe, that when the Generals were excuted, the rest of them were torn in peices by Dogs and Birds, but as for the remains of *Clearchus*, that a violent Gust of Wind, bearing before it a vast heap of earth did erect a Hill for a

Monument to cover his body : In which, after a few Dates had been sown, in a small time, he sayes, a lovely Grove grew up, and scatter'd its shade all over the place ; in so much that the King was much concern'd that he had cut off one so dear to Heaven, as *Clearchus*.

Parysatis therefore having entertain'd an inveterate grudge and emulation against *Statira*, and seeing that the power she her self had with *Artaxerxes* was founded upon the honour and veneration he had for her, but that her Daughters influence was made strong and immovable, by her love and obedience ; she was resolv'd to contrive her ruin, playing at hazard, as she thought, for the greatest Stake in the world. Among her Maids of Honour, there was one that was trusty, and in the highest esteem with her, whose name was *Gigis* ; who, as *Dinon* avers, assisted in making up the poyson. But *Ctesias* will allow her only to be conscious of it, and that much against her will ; expressly charging *Belitaras* for actually poysoning the Queen, tho *Dinon* sayes it was one *Melantas*. Now these Princesses beginning again to be reconcil'd, and feast together, yet by reason of their former jars and jealousies, they did not take the same meats from the same attendants without fear and caution. There is a small *Persian* Bird, the

Guts

Guts of which are without excrement, and the inside of it wholly fat ; so that they suppose the little Creature lives upon air and dew. It is call'd *Ryntaces*. *Ctesias* affirms, that *Parysatis* dividing this Bird with a knife drencht in poyson on the one side, and free from it on the other, did eat the untoucht and wholesom part her self, and gave *Statira* that which was infected. But *Dinon* will not have it to be *Parysatis*, but *Melantas* that cut up the Bird, and presented the envenom'd part of it to *Statira*, who dying with horrid Agonies and Convulsions, was both her self sensible of the virulent Drug she had taken, and intimated her suspicion of the Queen Mother to the King, who knew her brutish fierceness, her implacable temper. Whereupon, being resolv'd upon a speedy Inquest, he seiz'd upon his Mothers Pursivants and domestick Servants that attended at her Table, and put them upon the Rack. *Parysatis* kept *Gigis* at home with her a long time, and tho the King demanded her, she would not produce her. But she at last desiring that she might be dismiss'd to her own home by night, *Artaxerxes* had intimation of it, and laying wait for her hurried her away, and adjudg'd her to death. Now Poysoners in *Persia* suffer thus by Law. There is a broad Stone, whereon placing the head of them, they

they do with another dash press it till they have broke both it and the face in pieces, which was the punishment *Gigis* lost her life by. But as for his Mother, *Artaxerxes* neither denounc'd nor inflicted any other penalty upon her, save that he banish'd and confin'd her, not much against her will, to *Babylon*, protesting that whilst she liv'd he would not come near that mighty City.

This was the State of the Kings Affairs at home : But he no less vigorously endeavour'd to captivate the *Grecians*, that came along with *Cyrus*, than to conquer him, and keep possession of the Empire; and yet could not do it. For when they had lost their General *Cyrus*, and their other Commanders, they escap'd with safety almost out of the *Persian* Court, convincing and demonstrating to all men, that the business of that Prince and People was to be Rich, Riotous, and Effeminate ; or else to be Pompous and stately ; in so much that all *Greece* took courage, and despis'd those mean Barbarians ; especially the *Lacedemonians*, who thought it strange if they should not now deliver their Country-men, that dwelt in *Asia* from their Subjection to the *Persians*, nor put an end to their contumelious usage of them. And first having an Army under the conduct of *Thimbron*,

bron, then under *Dercylidas* ; but doing nothing memorable, they at last committed the War to the menage of their King *Agefilans*. Who, when he had arrived with his Men in Ships at *Asia*, as soon as he had landed them, set to work, and got himself great renown. For he defeated *Tisaphernes* in a pitch'd Battle, and forc'd many Cities to revolt. After these great Actions, when *Artaxerxes* had wisely consider'd, how he might wage War most advantageously with them, he sent *Hermocrates* of *Rhodes* into *Greece* with vast Treasures of Gold, commanding him by a free distribution of it to corrupt the leading men in the Cities, and to stir up the rest of the *Grecians* to an united engagement with *Sparta*. So *Hermocrates* following his instructions, the most considerable Cities conspiring against it, and all *Peloponnesus* being in an uproar, the *Ephori* remanded *Agefilans* from *Asia*. At which time, they say, as he was upon his return, he told his Friends, that *Artaxerxes* had driven him out of *Asia* with thirty thousand Archers, the *Persian* Coyn having an Archer stamp upon it. He scour'd the Seas too of the *Lacedemonians*, *Conon* the *Athenian*, and *Pharnabazus* being his Admirals. For *Conon*, after the Sea Fight, in a place, called the *Goats River*, resided in *Cyprus* ; not that he consulted his security, but look-

looking for a vicissitude of affairs with no less hopes than men wait for a low or full tide in the Sea. Who perceiving, that his Stratagems wanted power to actuate them, and that the Kings forces wanted a Wiseman to steer them, sent him an account by Letter of his projects, and charg'd the Bearer to hand it to his Majesty, if possible, by the mediation of *Zeno a Cretian*, or *Polycritus the Mendeian*, (the former being a dancing Master, the latter a Physician) or in the absence of them both by *Ctesias*; who is said to have taken *Conon's* Letter, and foisted into the Contents of it a request that his Majesty would be pleased to send over *Ctesias* to him, as being a serviceable Man in Maritime affairs. Yet *Ctesias* is positive, That the King of his own accord deputed him to this Province. But *Artaxerxes* getting the better of the *Lacedemonians* in a Sea-fight under the Conduct of *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, after he had stript them of their Jurisdiction by Sea, did at the same time reduce almost all the *Grecians* to their allegiance; so that upon his own terms he made that celebrated peace with them, which is stil'd the peace of *Antalcidas*. This *Antalcidas* was a *Spartan* the Son of one *Leon*, who, stickling for the Kings interest, oblig'd the *Lacedemonians* to covenant to let all the *Greek Cities* in *Asia*, and the I-

lands

lands adjacent to it, to become Subject and Tributary to him, when this peace was concluded: If we may give the venerable name of Peace to that which was the reproach and ruin of *Greece*; a Treaty which was as inglorious to the vanquished as any War in its issue had ever been to them. And therefore *Artaxerxes*, tho' alwayes abominating other *Spartans*, and looking upon them (as *Dion* sayes) to be the most impudent men living, did yet put a strange value upon *Antalcidas*, when he came to him into *Persia*: So that one day the King taking a Garland of Flowers, and dipping it in the most precious Oyntment sent it to him after Supper, a favour which all were amaz'd at. Indeed he was a person fit to be thus delicately treated, and to have such a Crown, who had among the *Persians* in his dancing imitated *Leonidas* and *Callicratidas*. Whereupon *Agessilaus*, it seems, one having said, O ye deplorable Fate of *Greece* now, when the *Spartans* turn *Medes*! Reply'd, nay rather when the *Medes* become *Spartans*. Notwithstanding the subtilty of the Repartee, it did not wipe off the infamy of the Action: But a little after the *Lacedemonians* lost the Principality of their State, having fought unfortunately at *Leuctres*; though their glory was utterly lost before them in that scandalous and

and dishonourable League. So long indeed as *Sparta* was Emperess of *Greece*, *Artaxerxes* did not only entertain *Antalcidas* generously, but endear'd him by the name of his Friend. But when routed and humbled at the Battle of *Leuctres*, being under great distresses for money, they had dispatcht *Agessilaus* into *Egypt*, and *Antalcidas* had address'd himself to *Artaxerxes*, beseeching him to supply their necessities, he so despis'd, slighted, and rejected him, that returning the scorn of his enemies, and in dread of the States, he pin'd himself to death. *Ismenias* also the *Theban* and *Polopidas*, who got the day at *Leuctres* arriv'd at the *Persian* Court; where the Latter did nothing unworthy of himself. But *Ismenias* being commanded to do obeisance to the King, dropt his Ring before him upon the ground, and so stooping to take it up, he seem'd to pay him homage. For some secret intelligence that pleas'd him he bestowed upon *Timagorus* the *Athenian* ten thousand *Darius's* by the hand of his Secretary *Beluris*, and fourscore Milch Kine were driven after him standing in need of Milk from the Cow, by reason of his indisposition. Moreover he sent him a Bed, Furniture, and Valets, the *Grecians* having not skill enough to make it, as also Chair-men to carry him, being infirm, in Body quite

to the Sea side. Not to mention the Treat made for him at Court, which was princely and splendid: In so much that *Osthanes* the Kings Brother thus spoke to him, Be mindful of this Table, which is not put before you thus spread for nothing. Which was rather a reflection upon his Treason, than to remind him of his Brothers bounty. The *Athenians* therefore condemned *Timagoras* to death for taking Bribes.

But *Artaxerxes* gratify'd the *Grecians* in one thing in lieu of the many wherewith he plagu'd them, and that was by taking off *Tisaphernes* their most hated and malicious Enemy: whom he put to death, *Parissatis* adding her charge to those accusations, that were already drawn up against him. For the King persisted not long in wrath with his Mother, but was reconcil'd to her, and sent for her, being assur'd, that she had wisdom and courage fit for an Empire, and there being now no cause discernable, but that they might converse together without suspicion or offence. And from thence forward humouring the King in all things according to his hearts desire, and by brooking nothing ill which he did, she got a mighty influence upon him, and prevail'd in whatever she requested of him. She perceiv'd he was desperately in love with *Atossia*, one of his own Daughters, and that

that he conceal'd and checkt his passion chiefly for fear of her self, tho if we may believe some Writers, he had privately enjoy'd the young Princess already. Now as soon as *Parysatis* suspected the intrigue, she was more fond of her Grandaughter than before, and extoll'd both her vertue and beauty to him, as being truly imperial and Majestick. In fine she perswaded him to marry the Maiden, and to declare her to be his lawful Wife, in spite of the opinions and determinations of the Greek Sages; forasmuch as she said he was design'd by Providence for a Law to the *Persians*, and to be the great Arbitrator of good and evil. Some Historians further affirm (in which number is *Heracledes the Cumean*) that *Artaxerxes* married not only this one, but his second Daughter *Amestris* also, of whom we shall speak by and by. But he so entirely lov'd *Atossa* when she became his Consort, that tho a Leprosie had run through her whole body, he was not in the least offended at it; but putting up his prayers to *Juno* for her, he ador'd her alone among the Deities, being prostrate upon the earth. His Nobles also and Favourites made such Offerings to that goddess by his direction, that all a long, for about two miles betwixt the Court and her Temple, the road was choak'd up with gold and Silver, with

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purple and Horses devoted to her. He waged War out of his own Kingdom with the *Egyptians*, under the Conduct of *Pharabazus* and *Iphicrates*, but was defeated by reason of their dissensions. So in his expedition against the *Cadusians*, he went himself in person with three hundred thousand footmen, and ten Thousand Horses. And making an incursion into their Country which was scarce, through its roughness, passable, and withal very misty, having neither Seed time nor Harvest, but with Pears, Apples, and other Tree-fruits breeding up Warlike and valiant men; he unawares fell into great distresses and dangers. For there was nothing to be got, fit for his men to eat, of the growth of that place, nor to be imported from any other. He would only have beasts for burthen slaughter'd, insomuch that the head of an Ass was sold for near forty shillings. In short the King himself was at a loss for provision, and there were but few horses left, the rest they had spent for food. Then *Tiribazus*, a man for his Valour often in great favour with his Prince, and as often for his buffoonery quite out of it, particularly at that time being low and despicable did yet preserve the King and his Army. There being two Kings amongst the *Cadusians*, and both of them

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encamping separately after he had made his application to *Artaxerxes*, and imparted his design to him, he went to one of the Princes, and sent away his Son privately to the other. So each of them deceived his man, assuring him that the other Prince had deputed an Embassador to *Artaxerxes* suing for friendship and alliance with him alone; and therefore if he were wise he told him he must apply himself to his Master before he had decreed any thing, and that he would lend him his assistance in all things. Both of them gave credit to these Words, and because they suppos'd there was a mutual grudge betwixt them, the one dispatcht away Envoys along with *Tiribazus*, the other with his Son. But *Tiribazus* staying somewhat long, the surmises and accusations of his Enemies made an impression upon *Artaxerxes*. VVho was very Melancholick, and being sorry that he had confided in *Tiribazus*, gave ear to his Rivals who impeach't him. But at last he came, and so did his Son, both of them bringing the *Cadusian* Agents along with them, and so there was a League and peace sign'd with both the Princes. And now *Tiribazus*, being great and splendid, return'd with the *Persian* Monarch, who plainly prov'd that cowardice and effeminacy are the effects

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of a base degenerate Nature; guided by erroneous notions, and not of niceness and superfluous excesses as most men suppose. For notwithstanding his Jewels of Gold; his Robe of State, and the rest of his costly attire, worth no less than twelve thousand Talents, with which he was constantly clad, his labours and toils were no less than those of the meanest persons in his Army. Nay turning up his Horse with his Quiver by his side, and his Shield on his Arm he led them through craggy and steep ways, insomuch that the other Souldiers observing his cheerfulness, and unwear'd strength took wing, and went the more swiftly along with him: VVhose daily march was above two hundred furlongs. After he had arriv'd at one of his own Mansions, which had lovely Parks nobly kept in order though situated in a region naked and without Trees; the weather being very cold he gave full Commission to his Souldiers to provide themselves with wood by cutting down any without exception even the Pine and Cypress. VVhen they were at a stand, and for sparing them, being large and goodly Trees, he, taking up an Ax himself, fell the greatest and fairest of them. After which his men us'd their hatchets, and piling up many Fires, past away the Night with ease: Never-

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theless he return'd not without the loss of many and valiant Subjects, and of almost all his Horses. Wherefore having imagin'd that he should grow little in the eyes of his people through the misfortune and ill success of this expedition, he suspected that he was despis'd by some of his Nobles, many of whom he slew in his rage, and yet still was jealous of more. For fear is the bloodiest passion in Princes, whereas the bold and courageous amongst them are merciful, gentle, and confiding. And thus the timorous and sluggish brutes are ever untractable and the most unruly; whilst the Nobler being made confident by their spirit refuse not the acquaintance of their owners. In process of time after *Artaxerxes*, being very old, perceiv'd that his Sons were in controversy about his Kingdom, and that they made parties among his Favourites and Peers. Those that were equitable among them thought it fit that as he had receiv'd it, so he should bequeath it to *Darius* whose just inheritance it was. The younger Brother *Ochus*, who was hot and violent, had indeed a considerable number of the Courtiers that espous'd his interest, but his chief hope was that by *Atossa's* means he should prepare his Father. For he had sooth'd her up with the thoughts of being his Wife, and Queen after the death

death of *Artaxerxes*. And truly it was buzz'd abroad that before it *Ochus* maintain'd too great correspondence with her, but secret and unknown to the King: Who being willing timely to dash his Son *Ochus* hopes, least he attempting the very same things his Uncle *Cyrus* did, Wars and contentions might again afflict his Kingdom, proclaim'd *Darius*, then fifty years Old, his Successour, and gave him leave to wear the Imperial Hat cock'd up. It is a Rule and usage of *Persia*, that the Heir apparent to the Crown should beg a boon, and that he that declar'd him so should give what ever he askt, provided it were within the Sphere of his power. *Darius* therefore requested *Aspasia* the most tenderly beloved Miss of *Cyrus*, but then the Kings Concubine, she was originally a *Phocian* born in the Country of *Ionia*. of gentile Parents, and well educated. Once when *Cyrus* was at Supper, she was led into him with other Women, who when they were fate down by him, though he sported and dalli'd and talkt wantonly with them, did without shyness admit that his fulsome Courtship; but she stood by the Table, with a graceful silence, refusing to come to him when *Cyrus* call'd her. And when his Chamberlains were going to force her towards him, she said, *whoever lays hands*

on me shall rue it, so she seem'd to the company a fullen, rude, country thing. However *Cyrus* being well pleas'd with her reserv'd humour laugh'd it off, and said to the Man that brought the Woman, dost not thou plainly see, that this Woman alone of all that came with thee is truly Noble, and of an impregnable Chastity: After which time he began to regard her, and lov'd her above all of her Sex, and call'd her *Aspasia* the Wise. But *Cyrus* being slain in the fight she was taken among the spoils of his Camp, whom when *Darius* did demand, no doubt he much offended his Father. For the Barbarous people keep a very jealous and watchful Eye over their Carnal pleasures; so that 'tis death for a man not only to come near and caress any Concubine of his Prince, but likewise in his journey to make an excursion, or pass over to the Coaches in which they are carried. And though to gratify his Lust, he had against all Law marri'd his Daughter *Atossa*, and had beside her a Seraglio of three hundred and sixty the most exquisite beauties in his Dominions; yet being importun'd for that one by *Darius*, he urg'd that she was a free-woman, and allow'd him to take her if she had an inclination to go with him, but by no means to force her away against it. *Aspasia*

Aspasia therefore being sent for, and contrary to th^e King's expectation, making choice of *Darius*, he gave him her indeed being constrain'd by Law, but when he had done so, a little after he took her from him. For he consecrated her Priestess to *Diana* of *Ecbatane*; whom there they name *Anitis*, that she might spend the remainder of her days in a strict Chastity, thinking thus to punish his Son, not with rigour but moderation, by a revenge check'd with jest and earnest. But he took it heinously either he was a passionate admirer of *Aspasia*, or because he lookt upon himself as highly affronted and scorn'd by his Father. *Tiribazus* perceiving him thus divided betwixt Lust and rage did exasperate him yet farther after 'he had observ'd in his injuries a representation of his own. Of which take the following account, *Artaxerxes* having many Daughters promis'd to give *Apama* to *Pharnabazus* to Wife, *Rodogune* to *Orantes*, and *Amestris* to *Tiribazus*; whom alone he disappointed by marrying *Amestris* himself, and yet was just to the other two. However to make him amends he betroth'd his youngest Daughter *Atossa* to him. But after he had, being enamour'd of, marri'd her too, (as has been said.) *Tiribazus* had an irreconcilable grudge against him, who was seldom at any other

time steady in his temper, but uneven and inconsiderate. Wherefore whether he were in the number of the choicest Favourites of his Prince, or whether he were offensive and odious to him; he demean'd himself in neither condition with moderation: But being advanc't, he was intolently insolent, and in his degradation his deportment was not submissive and peaceable, but fierce and haughty. And therefore *Tiribazus* was to the young Prince as Oyl thrown upon a flame, ever urging him, and saying that in vain those wear their hats upright, who consult not the Success of their affairs, and that he was ill befriended of reason if he imagin'd (whilst he had a Brother, who that he might have his choice of Women endeavour'd to undermine him, and a Father of so rash and fickle a humour) that he should by succession infallibly step up into the Throne. For he that out of fondness to a lewd *Ionian* female hath eluded a Law Sacred and inviolable among the *Persians*, is not likely to be faithful in the performance of the most important promises. He added too that it was not all one for *Ochus* not to attain to, and for him to be put by his Crown; since *Ochus* as a Subject might live happily, and no body could hinder him, but he being proclaim'd King, must either take up

up the Scepter, or lay down his Life. These words presently inflam'd *Darius*. That of *Sophocles* perhaps being generally true, *Ill Counsel soon is at its journey's End*, For the path is smooth, or upon an easie descent, that leads us to what we are inclin'd, and for the most part of us are propense to Vice through our strangeness too, and ignorance of the loveliness of Vertue. And no doubt the greatness of the Empire, and the jealousy *Darius* had of *Ochus* furnished *Tiribazus* with materials for his remonstrance. Nor was *Venus* wholly unconcern'd in the matter upon the loss of her Votary *Aspasia*: *Darius* therefore resign'd himself up to the dictates of *Tiribazus*, and many now conspiring with them, an Eunuch detected their Plot to the King, and the way how it was to be manag'd, being very well inform'd that the Traytors had resolv'd to break into his Bed Chamber by night, and there to kill him as he lay. After *Artaxerxes* had been thus advertis'd, he did not think fit by disregarding the discovery to despise so great a danger; nor to believe it when there was little or no proof of it. Thus then he did; He charged the *Eunuchs* constantly to be amongst and accompany the Conspirators wherever they were. In the mean while he broke down the Wall of the Chamber behind

behind his Bed, and when he had made a door, he hid it with Tapestry. So the hour approaching, and the *Eunuch* having told him the very nick of time in which the Traytours design'd to assassinate him, he waited for them in his Bed, and rose not up, till he had seen the faces of his aggressours, and accurately discern'd every man of them. But as soon as he saw them with their Swords drawn, and coming up to him, throwing up the hanging he made his retreat into an inner Chamber, and bolting to the door he alarm'd the Court. Thus when the *Persians* had been seen by him, and had attempted him in vain; they with speed went back through the same doors they came, enjoyning *Tiribazus* especially and those near him to retire, because clearly discover'd. They therefore made their escape different ways, but *Tiribazus* as they were laying hold on him slew many of the Kings Guards, and at length being struck through with a Dart at a distance, he fell. And as for *Darius* who was brought to the Bar with his Children, the King appointed Princely Judges to sit over him, who because he was not himself at the Trial, but accus'd *Darius* by Proxy, commanded his Notaries to write down the opinion of every one of the Judges, and shew

it to him. In short after they had resolv'd all as one man, and sentenc'd *Darius* to death, the Officers seiz'd on him, and hurri'd him to a prison not far off. To which place the Executioner, when summon'd, came with a razour in his hand, with which men of his employment cut off the heads of high offenders. But when he saw that *Darius* was the person thus to be punished, he was appall'd, and started back, offering to go out, as one that had neither power nor courage enough to behead him, who a little before had been proclaim'd King, yet at the threats and commands of the Judges who stood at the Prison door he return'd, and grasping the hair of his head, and binding his face to the ground with one hand, he cut off his neck with the Razour he had in the other. Some affirms that sentence was pass'd in the presence of *Artaxerxes*; that *Darius* after he had been convicted by clear evidence, falling prostrate before him, did humbly beg his pardon; that instead of giving it he rising up in rage, and drawing his Scymeter smote him till he had kill'd him; that then leading them to his Palace he did Worship the Sun, and said, *Be gone in Triumph, O ye Persians, and declare to your fellow Subjects how the mighty Ormazdes hath dealt out vengeance to the contrivers*

trivers of unjust and unlawful things. Such then was the issue of this Conspiracy. And now *Ochus* was big with expectation, being puff'd up with the interest he had in *Artaxerxes*; but yet was afraid of *Ariaspes* the only Male surviving beside himself of the Legitimate off-spring of his Father, and of *Arfames* one of his natural Sons. For indeed *Ariaspes* was already declar'd Prince by the wishes of the *Persians*; not because he was the Elder Brother, but because he excell'd *Ochus* in gentleness, plain dealing, and good nature; whereas *Arfames* appear'd by his Wisdom accomplish'd for the Throne, and that he was most dear to his Father, *Ochus* very well knew. So he laid Snares for them both, and, being no less treacherous than bloody, he made use of the Cruelty of his nature against *Arfames*, and of his craft, his williness against *Ariaspes*. For he suborn'd the King's Eunuchs and Favourites to convey to him menacing and harsh expressions from his Father, as though he had decreed to put him to a cruel and ignominious death when they seem'd daily to communicate these things as secrets, and said one while that the King would do thus to him ere long, at another within a few moments; they so astonish'd the good Prince, they struck such a terrour into him, and

and cast such a confusion and anxiety upon his thoughts, that having prepared some fatal drugs he drank them, that he might be deliver'd from his hated Life. The King knowing what kind of death he dy'd, heartily lamented him, and gave a shrew'd guess at the impulsive cause of it. But being disabled by his age to search into and prove it, he was after the loss of his Son more indulgent to *Arfames*, did manifestly place his greatest confidence in him, and made him privy to all his designs. Whereupon *Ochus* had no longer patience to defer the execution of his purpose, but having procur'd *Arfaxes*, *Tiribazus*'s Son for the undertaking, he kill'd *Arfames* by his hand. *Artaxerxes* at that time had but a little while to live by reason of his very old age. So when he heard of the Fate of *Arfames*, he could not at all bear it, but straight sinking under the load of his grief expir'd, after he had enjoy'd life ninety four years, and an Empire sixty two. And then he seem'd a moderate and gracious Governour, especially if compar'd to his Son *Ochus*, who out did all his Predecessours in blood and Cruelty.

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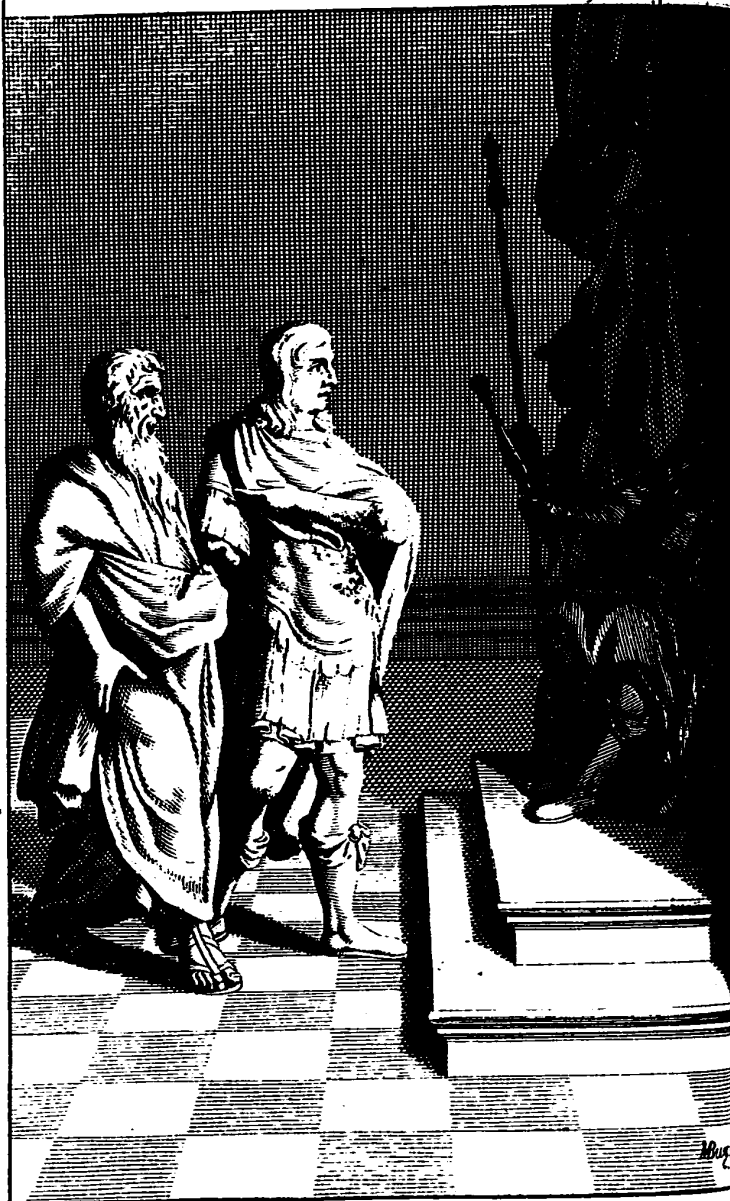
DIO.

THE
LIFE
OF
DION.

English'd from the Greek,
by *Robert Uvedale*, LL.D.

THE *Trojans*, as *Simonides* reports, were not angry with the *Corinthians* for joyning their forces with the other *Greeks* in the confederate Expedition against them, because *Glaucus*, whose Ancestors were originally of *Corinth*, frankly engaged on their side, and brought them Aid to *Troy*: So neither can the *Romans* or *Grecians* be justly displeas'd

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pleas'd with the *Academy*, being both equally concern'd in this Historical Account of the Lives of *Brutus* and *Dion*. For one of them was contemporary and familiarly conversant with *Plato*, and the other from his Youth Educated in his Philosophy. So that they had the same Original and Foundation of their great Atchievements, and set out (as it were) from the same Lists to run their Race of Honour. Nor need we wonder at the near resemblance and affinity of their Actions, confirming what their Tutor said, That without a mutual concurrence of Power and Success, joyn'd and tempered with Justice and Prudence, nothing great and glorious can be accomplish'd in the managery of Publick Affairs. For as *Hippomachus* the Wrestler affirm'd, he could by their port distinguish his Scholars at great distance, tho' they were but carrying meat from the Shambles; So it is very probable, that the ingenious sentiments of those who have had good Education doe alike influence their Actions, and create in them a gentile De-meanour, very agreeable and becoming.

The Comparison of *Dion* and *Brutus*.

Now we may draw a Parallel of the Lives of these two great Men from their Fortunes, wherein Chance, not Design, made them much alike, for they were both

both cut off by an untimely death, not being able to accomplish those ends which through many risques and difficulties they aimed at. But above all, this is most wonderful; That by Divine Permission both of them had notice given of their approaching death by a frightful and ominous Dæmon, which visibly appear'd to them. Altho' there are a sort of men who utterly deny any such thing, and say, that no man in his right wits ever saw a Phantom or Apparition; but that Children only, and silly Women, or Men craz'd by some Distemper of their Mind, or Disease of their Body, entertain such idle and absurd Fancies, over-fondly conceiting themselves haunted with Sprites and Goblins. Yet if *Dion* and *Brutus*, men of great Courage and Learning, not easily deluded by Fancy, or discompos'd by any sudden apprehension, were so disturb'd at these Visions, that they forthwith declar'd to their Friends what they had seen; I know not how we can avoid admitting again the exploded Opinion of the Ancients, That the Devils and evil Spirits, out of an envious hatred to good men, vigorously oppose whatever they do; and by raising distractions and terrors in their minds, endeavour to shake

and undermine their Vertue, lest by a steady and unbyas'd perseverance in Goodness, they should after death obtain a happier condition of futurity than those wretched Beings can ever hope for. But I shall refer these things to another place, and in this Twelfth Book of the Lives of Great Men, compar'd one with another, begin with his who was the elder.

Dionysius the Tyrant of Sicily.

Dionysius the First, having seiz'd the Government of *Sicily*, took to Wife the Daughter of *Hermocrates*, a *Syracusan*. She, in an Insurrection which the Citizens made before the Government was well settled, was abused in such a barbarous and outrageous manner, that for shame she put an end to her own life. But *Dionysius*, soon re-established and confirm'd in the Throne, married two Wives, one named *Doride* of *Locris*, the other *Aristomache*, a Native of *Sicily*, and Daughter of *Hipparinus*, a Nobleman of the first Quality in *Syracuse*, and Colleague with *Dionysius* when he was chosen General of the Army. 'Tis said he married them both in one day, but which he enjoyed first is uncertain; ever after he divided his kindness equally between them, both accompanying him together at his Table, and in his Bed by turns. Indeed the *Syracusians* were urgent that

Marries two Wives.

their own Country-woman might be preferred before the Stranger; but *Doride*, to recompence the aspersion of being a Foreigner, had the good Fortune to be the Mother of *Dionysius's* eldest Son, whilst *Aristomache* continued a long time without Issue, tho' the King was very desirous to have Children by her, and caused *Doride's* Mother to be put to death, laying to her Charge, that she had bewitch'd *Aristomache*, to prevent her being with Child.

Dion, *Aristomache's* Brother, at first found a very Honourable Reception at Court for his Sisters sake; but his own worth and parts soon procur'd him a nearer place in the Prince's Affection, who among other favours gave special Command to his Treasurers to furnish *Dion* with whatever Money he demanded, enjoying them withal the same day to give him a particular account of what they had delivered out. Now, tho' *Dion* was before reputed a Person of extraordinary Parts, a Noble Mind, and daring Courage, yet all these excellent Qualifications receiv'd a considerable improvement by *Plato's* happy arrival in *Sicily*. It was without doubt no Humane Contrivance, but the direction of Providence, designing that this remote Cause should

Dion comes to Court.

Plato comes into Sicily.

Dion Plato's
Scholar.

hereafter occasion the recovery of the *Sicilians* lost Liberty, and the subversion of the Tyrannical Government, which brought the Philosopher out of *Italy*, and settled him at *Syracuse*. *Dion* soon gain'd his Acquaintance, and became the most considerable among his Scholars, by his wonderful disposition to Learning, and inclination to Vertue, far above what his years could promise, as *Plato* himself reports of him, and his own Actions sufficiently testify. For tho' he was bred up under the Tyrant in a condition much below himself, inur'd to a dissolute and servile kind of life, under a haughty and imperious Command, glutted with extravagant Pleasures, and a customary regard to nothing but Wealth and Luxury, (the mistaken happiness of life;) yet no sooner had he tasted the Sweets of more rational Notions, and was made acquainted with the Precepts of Philosophy, which direct the way to Vertue and true Satisfaction, but his Appetite increas'd, and his Soul was inflam'd with a desire of more knowledge, and greater Attainments: Hereupon innocently, tho' not judiciously, concluding from his own ingenuous disposition, that the same powerful Reasons would work the same Effects upon *Dionysius*, he made it his business,

business, and at length obtain'd the favour of him at a leisure hour to admit and hear *Plato*. At this their meeting, the Subject-matter of their Discourse in general was Vertue, but more particularly they disputed concerning *Fortitude*, which *Plato* prov'd Tyrants, of all men, had the least pretence to; and thence proceeding to treat of Justice, he asserted the happy Estate of the Just, and the miserable condition of the Unjust. Here the King, touch'd to the quick, and not able to answer his Arguments, would not endure to hear him out, being highly displeas'd with the rest of the Auditors there present, who with wonder and delight had listned to his Discourses. At length, exceedingly exasperated, he asked the Philosopher in a great rage, what business he had in *Sicily*? To which *Plato* answer'd, I came hither to seek an honest man: It seems then, reply'd *Dionysius*, you have lost your labour. *Dion* supposing the Kings anger pretty well over, at *Plato's* request, convey'd him suddenly aboard a Galley, the Captain's name *Pollis*, a *Lacedemonian*, bound for Greece; but *Dionysius* privately dealt with *Pollis*, by all means to kill *Plato* in the Voyage: If not, to be sure to sell him for a Slave; alledging for an inducement, that as a

Dionysius hears
Plato's Discourse.

Plato leaves
Sicily.

Dion sent Embassador to Carthage.

good man he could not be endammag'd, but would still enjoy his happiness, tho' he lost his Liberty. *Pollis* therefore, as 'tis reported, carried *Plato* to *Ægina*, and there sold him to the *Æginetes*, then at War with *Athens*, having made a Decree, That whatever *Athenian* was taken on their Coasts, should forthwith be exposed to Sale. Notwithstanding *Dion* was in no less Favour and Credit with *Dionysius* than formerly, but was entrusted with the most considerable Employments; and sent on an Honourable Embassy to *Carthage*, in the management of which he gain'd very great Reputation. Besides, the King bore with the liberty he took to speak his mind freely; he being the only man who upon any occasion durst so boldly say what he thought; witness his smart Repartee upon the account of *Gelon*. *Dionysius* on a time ridiculing *Gelon's* Government, and alluding to his Name, said, *Gelon* was [Γέλως] the Laughing-stock of *Sicily*: While others seem'd to admire and applaud the Quibble, *Dion* very warmly reply'd, Sir, you got the Crown, by being trusted for *Gelon's* sake; but for your sake no man will ever hereafter be trusted again; for indeed *Gelon* made it appear, that Monarchy was the best of Governments,

vernments, and you have convinc'd us 'tis the worst. *Dionysius* had three Children *Dionysius* his Children. by *Doride*, and by *Aristomache* four, two of which were Daughters, *Sophrosyne* and *Arete*. *Sophrosyne* was married to his Son *Dionysius*; *Arete* to his Brother *Thearides*; after whose death, *Dion* took his Niece *Arete* to Wife. Now, when *Dionysius* was sick, and like to dye, *Dion* endeavour'd to discourse with him in behalf of the Children he had by *Aristomache*; but was still prevented by the Physicians, designing thereby to ingratiate themselves with the next Successor, who also, as *Timæus* reports, gave him, as he desired, a sleeping Potion, which soon depriv'd him of his Senses, and made him His Death. sleep his last.

Hereupon at the first Council *Dionysius* *Dionysius* the Second succeeds his Father. the Second held with his Confidants, *Dion* discours'd so well of the present Exigency and state of Affairs, that he made all the rest appear in their Politicks but young Statesmen; and in their Votes, rather Slaves than Counsellors, who timorously and disingenuously advis'd what would best please the young King, rather than advance his Interest. But that which startled them most, was the Proposal he made to avert the eminent danger they fear'd of a War with the *Carthaginians*,

nians, undertaking to Sail immediately over into *Africk*, and if the King desir'd it, to conclude a Peace upon Honourable terms; but if he rather inclin'd to War, that he would fit out and maintain at his own proper cost and charges fifty Gallies, ready for the Service. *Dionysius* admir'd his Gallantry, and receiv'd the frankness of his Offer with great satisfaction. But the other Courtiers, thinking this his Generosity reflected upon them, and jealous of being lessen'd by his growing greatness, from hence took all occasions by private insinuations and flanders to render him obnoxious to the Kings displeasure; as if he design'd by his Power at Sea to surprize the Government, and by the help of those Naval Forces confer the Supream Authority upon his Sister *Aristomache's* Children. But indeed the most apparent and prime Cause of their invidious and malicious proceedings against him, was his Reservedness in Conversation, and Singularity in his way of Living; for they who had from the beginning by flatteries and all unworthy artifices insinuated themselves into the favour and familiarity of the Prince, youthful and voluptuously bred, were wholly subservient to his Pleasures, and sought how to entertain him daily with

new

new Amours, and such idle and extravagant Employments, as Wine, Women, and other lewd Diversions: By which means the Tyranny, like Iron softned in the fire, seem'd to the Subject to be more moderate and gentle, and to abate somewhat of its extream severity; the edge thereof being blunted, not by the clemency, but rather the sloth and degeneracy of the young King; whose dissoluteness gaining ground daily, and growing upon him, ^{His Debauches} soon weakned and broke those Adamantine Chains, with which his Father *Dionysius* said he had left the Monarchy fastned and secured. 'Tis reported of him, that having begun a drunken Debauch, he continued it ninety days without intermission; in all which time no grave Man appear'd, or serious Discourse was heard at Court, but Drinking, Singing, Dancing, Buffoonry, and all sorts of Licentious Raillery reign'd there without controul. 'Tis likely then they had little kindness for *Dion*, who never indulg'd himself in such Diversions and Youthful Frolicks; for which reason they made his very Vertues the subject of their Calumnies, and nick-nam'd whatever was remarkable in him, *Vice*: They call'd his Gravity Pride, his Plain dealing Obstnacy, the good Advice he gave was all

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Dion's haughty
Humour.

construed Reprimand, and he was censur'd for neglecting and scorning those whom he would not accompany in their Misdemeanours. And to say the truth, he was naturally of a haughty Humour, austere, reserv'd, and unsociable in Conversation, which made his Company unpleasant and disagreeable, not only to the young King, who delighted in none but his smooth-tongu'd Courtiers and Parasites, but many also of *Dion's* intimate Friends, tho' they well approv'd the Integrity and Generosity of his temper, yet justly blamed his surly Carriage, as favouring too much of an uncouth and starch'd humour, and wanting something of Address and due Civility in the reception of those that applyed themselves to him; of which *Plato* afterwards wrote to him, and (as it were) Prophetically advis'd him carefully to avoid a surly demeanour, unless he intended to be abandoned by all Society, and live alone by himself.

Now, tho' *Dion*, by reason of the present state of Affairs, was very considerable, and in great esteem, as being the only stay and prop of the Government, which was in a tottering and unsafe condition; yet he well understood that he ow'd not his Greatness to the Kings kindness,

ness, but to the necessity of his concerns; and supposing the prime cause of this to be his Ignorance, and want of Education, he endeavour'd to induce him into a course of ingenious Studies, and acquaint him with the Precepts of Morality; thereby hoping to take off the aversion he had to Virtue, and by degrees inure him to a complacency in performing good and laudable Actions. *Dionysius* in his own Nature was not the worst of Princes, but his Father fearing that if he should come to understand himself better, and converse with wise and learned Men, he might complot against him, and dispossess him of his Kingdom, kept him in a close confinement to his Lodgings; where for want of other Company, and ignorant how to spend his time better, he busied himself in making little Charriots, Candlesticks, Joynt-stools, Tables, and the like wooden Implements. For his Father, *Dionysius* the First, was so diffident and suspicious of all mankind, and withal so wretchedly fearful, that he would not suffer a Barber to trim him with Razor or Scissors, but made one of his Artificers with a live Coal sear off his excrescent hairs. Neither were his Brother or his Son allowed to come into his Apartment in the Habit they wore, but they,

His Education

Dionysius the first very timorous.

they, as all others, were strip'd to their skins by some of the Guard, and put on other Clothes before they were admitted into the Presence. When on a time his Brother *Leptimes* was discoursing the situation of a place, and took a Javelin from one of the Guard to describe the Plot, he was highly incens'd at him, and caus'd the Souldier that deliver'd him the Weapon, to be put to death. He declar'd, the more judicious his Friends were, the more he suspected them; because he knew that were it in their choice, they would rather Command, than be subject to a Superiour. He slew *Marfyas*, one of his Captains, whom he had preferr'd to a considerable Command, for dreaming that he kill'd him; supposing that it was not a roving Fancy, but a previous thought, and resolv'd design which had form'd that Idea in his imagination; so timorous was he, so miserable a Slave to his fear, yet very angry with *Plato*, because he would not allow him to be the valiantest Man alive.

Dion (as we said before) seeing *Dionysius* the Son defective in his Understanding, and irregular in his Manners, for want of good Education, advis'd him to set to Study; perswading him earnestly to entreat *Plato*, the greatest Philosopher

Dion perswades *Dionysius* to send for *Plato*.

pher in the World, to come into *Sicily*; and when he came, to permit himself to his direction and advice, by whose Instructions he might learn to lead a virtuous life, and be conformable to the glorious Idea of that Divine Essence, whose wise Conduct all things obey, and out of confusion form'd the beautiful Order of the Universe; by which means he would procure great happiness to himself and all his Subjects, who oblig'd by his Justice and Moderation, would then willingly pay him Obedience as their Father, which now grudgingly, and upon necessity they are forced to yield him, as their Lord. For Fear and Force, a great Navy and standing Army of ten thousand Mercenary Souldiers, are not (as his Father said) the Adamantine Chains which secure the Regal Power, but the love and affection of Subjects to their Prince, endear'd to him by his Clemency and Justice; which tho' they seem more pliant than the stiff and hard bonds of Severity, are nevertheless the strongest and most durable Tyes to fix and establish a settled and lasting Empire: Moreover, it is mean and dishonourable that a Prince, glorious in his Equipage, splendid in the Gallantry and Magnificence of his Court, should not at all excel a Peasant in Discourse and

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Conversation, nor have his Princely Mind accomplish'd, as well as Body adorn'd, according to his Royal Dignity.

Plato sent for.

Dion frequently entertaining the King upon this Subject, and as occasion offer'd, repeating some of the Philosopher's Learned Arguments, *Dionysius* grew impatiently desirous to have *Plato's* company, and to hear him Discourse: Forthwith therefore he sent divers Letters to him to *Athens*, to which *Dion* added his entreaties; also several Philosophers of the *Pythagorean* Sect from *Italy*, perswaded him to come and manage the pleyable Youth of the King, and by his grave and serious Advice restrain the unstable and desultory efforts of his new-acquired Power and Grandeur. *Plato* (as he says of himself) being ashamed to seem buis only in words, and slothful in action, hoping withal that if he could work a Cure upon one Man, the Head and Guide of the rest, he might remedy the Distempers of the whole Kingdom of *Sicily*, yielded to their Requests.

Philistus the Historian.

But *Dion's* Enemies fearing an alteration in *Dionysius*, perswaded him to recall from Banishment one *Philistus*, a Learned Man, and very skilful in Tyrannical Policy, whom they designed to set in opposition to *Plato* and his Philosophy. For

For *Philistus* from the beginning was a great instrument to promote the Tyranny, and being Governour of the Castle, kept it a long time for that Faction. There was a report that he had to do with the Mother of *Dionysius* the First; and that he was not altogether ignorant of it. But *Leptimes* having two Daughters by a married Woman whom he had Debauch'd, gave one of them in Marriage to *Philistus*, without acquainting the King, who being enraged, put *Leptimes* Mistress in Prison, and Banish'd *Philistus* the Kingdom: Whereupon he fled to some of his Friends at *Adria*, in which retirement and leisure 'tis probable he writ the greatest part of his History; for he returned not into his Country during the Reign of that *Dionysius*.

Why banish'd.

But after his Death, as is before related, *Dion's* Enemies occasion'd him to be recall'd home, as fitter for their purpose, and a firm Friend to the Arbitrary Government, which he immediately upon his return endeavour'd to abett; and at the same time divers Calumnies and Accusations against *Dion* were by others brought to the King; as that he held Correspondence with *Theodotes* and *Heraclides*, to subvert the Monarchy: for indeed 'tis likely he had hopes by the

Recall'd from Banishment.

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coming of *Plato* to take off the unlimited Power of *Dionysius*, and make him more moderate and equitable in his Authority; but if he continued averſe to that, and were not to be reclaim'd, he reſolv'd to Depoſe him, and reſtore the Common-wealth to the *Syracuſians*; not that he approv'd a Democracy or Popular Government, but thought it preferable to a Tyranny, when a good Ariſtocracy, or Regency of the Grantees, could not be procured.

Plato arrives in Sicily.

This was the ſtate of Affairs when *Plato* came into *Sicily*, who at his firſt arrival was received with wonderful demonſtration of kindneſs and reſpect; for one of the Kings richeſt Chariots waited upon him when he came on ſhore. *Dionysius* himſelf ſacrificed to the Gods, in thankful acknowledgment for the great happineſs which had beſel his Kingdom: The Citizens alſo entertain'd marvellous hopes of a ſpeedy and thorough Reformation. For that at Court they obſerv'd a modeſt *Decorum* in their Feaſtings, a grave compoſure in their Behaviour, and the King himſelf return'd kind and obliging Answers to all Petitions and Cauſes that came before him. Men were generally grown very deſirous of Learning, and eagerly intent upon the ſtudy of Philoſophy;

loſophy; inſomuch, that the very Palace, as 'tis reported, was covered with duſt by the numerous concourſe of the Students in the Mathematicks, that reſorted thither.

Not long after, at a Solemn Sacrifice in the Caſtle, according to the Cuſtom of the Country, when the Priest, as he was wont, prayed for the long continuance of the preſent Government; *Dionysius* ſtanding by, was heard to ſay, What, will you never leave off curſing me? This ſenſibly vext *Philiftus* and his Party, who conjectur'd, that if *Plato*, by ſo little acquaintance, had thus transform'd and alter'd the young Kings mind, conſequently by longer converſe, and greater intimacy, he would get ſuch Power and Authority, that it would be impoſſible to withſtand him. They did therefore no longer privately, and apart, but joyntly, and in publick all of them rail at *Dion*, noiſing it about, that he manifeſtly charm'd and bewitch'd *Dionysius* by *Plato's* Sophiſtry; to the end, that when he was perſwaded voluntarily to part with the Regency, and throw off his Authority, *Dion* might take it up, and ſettle it upon his Siſter *Ariſtomache's* Children. Others ſeem'd to take it in great ſcorn, that the *Athenians*, who formerly

Dion rail'd at by the Courtiers.

arriv'd in *Sicily* with a great Fleet, and numerous Land-Army, but were routed and beaten off with great loss, without being able so much as to take the City of *Syracuse*; should now, by means of one Sophister, overturn the whole Empire of *Dionysius*; inveigling him to cashier his Guard of ten thousand Lances, dismiss a Navy of four hundred Gallies, disband an Army of ten thousand Horse, and treble the number of Foot, and go seek in the Schools an unknown and imaginary Bliss, and learn by the Mathematicks how to be happy; while in the mean time he resigned the substantial enjoyments of absolute Power, Riches, and Pleasure to *Dion* and his Sisters Children.

Out of favour
at Court.

By these means at first *Dion* incur'd the Kings suspicion, and by degrees his apparent displeasure and aversion. A Letter also was intercepted, which *Dion* had writ to the *Carthaginian's* Agents, advising them, that when they treated with *Dionysius* concerning a Peace, they should not come to their Audience, unless he were there; and then he would effectually dispatch their business according to their minds. When *Dionysius* had shewed this to *Philistus*, and, as *Timæus* relates, consulted with him about it, he over-reach'd *Dion* by a feigned reconciliation, fairly pre-

pretending to receive him again to his favour; but leading him alone one day to the Sea-side, under the Castle Wall, he shew'd him the Letter, and tax'd him with Conspiring with the *Carthaginians* against him; when *Dion* assayed to offer something in his own defence, *Dionysius* suffer'd him not; but immediately forc'd him aboard a Vessel, which lay there for that purpose, and commanded the Sailors to set him a-shore on the Coast of *Italy*.

Is forc'd away
into *Italy*.

When this was publicly known, all Men thought it very hard usage, and a great piece of Cruelty. The Ladies also in the Court mightily lamented *Dion*. But the Citizens of *Syracuse* encourag'd themselves, expecting that for his sake some Insurrection would ensue; which together with the mistrust others would have of the King, upon this account, might occasion new measures, and an alteration in the State; which *Dionysius* perceiving, and being very much concern'd at, he endeavour'd to pacifie the Women, and others of *Dion's* Kindred and Friends; assuring them, that he had not banish'd, but only sent him out of the way for a time, fearing that if he continued there present upon the place, Passion might prevail upon him to punish his Obstinacy with greater severity. He

gave also two Ships to his Relations, with liberty to send him into *Peloponnesus* what of his Estate, Goods, or Servants they thought fit.

His Riches.

Dion was very Rich, and little inferior to the King himself in the Splendour and Furniture of his House; which his Friends packt up, and conveyed to him; besides many Rich Presents, which were sent him by the Ladies and others of his Acquaintance. The abundance of his Wealth and Treasure gain'd him great Honour and Regard among the *Grecians*; and by his Riches and Grandeur, at the best but a Subject, and now an Exile, set out the Magnificence and Power of his Lord the King.

Upon this, *Dionysius* immediately remov'd *Plato* into the Castle, designing under colour of an honourable and kind Reception, to set a Guard upon him, lest he should follow *Dion*, and declare to the World in his behalf, how injuriously he had been dealt with. And now Time and Conversation (as Wild Beasts by use grow tame and tractable) brought *Dionysius* to endure *Plato's* company and discourse; so that he began to love the Philosopher, but with such an Affection, as had something of the Tyrant in it, requiring of *Plato*, that he should, in return

of

of his kindness, love him only, and admire him above all other Men; being ready to permit to his care the chief management of Affairs, and even the Government too, upon Condition that he would not prefer *Dion's* Friendship before his. This extravagant Affection was a great trouble to *Plato*; for it was accompanied with petulant and jealous Humours, like the fond Passions of those that are desperately in Love; frequently falling out with him, and presently entreating to be friends again; for now he was beyond measure desirous to be *Plato's* Scholar, and to proceed in the Study of Philosophy: Yet he seem'd still to have some regret, and to be asham'd of himself to those that endeavour'd to pervert him from this design, as if he were grown degenerate, and like to be spoil'd and undone.

But a War about this time breaking *Plato* sent away.
out, he sent *Plato* away, promising him the next Summer to re-call *Dion*, tho' in this he was not so good as his word; nevertheless, he remitted to him the product of his Revenues; desiring *Plato* to excuse him for the prefixt time, by reason of the War; but as soon as he had settled a Peace, he would immediately send for *Dion*; requiring him in

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the interim to be quiet, and not raise any disturbance, nor speak any thing ill of him among the *Grecians*. This *Plato* endeavour'd to effect, by keeping *Dion* with him in the *Academy*, and busying him in his Philosophical Studies.

Dion sojourns
at *Athens*.

Dion sojourn'd in the City with *Calippus*, one of his Acquaintance; but for his diversion, he bought a Seat in the Country, which afterwards, when he went into *Sicily*, he gave to *Speucippus*, the most familiar Companion he had of all his Friends at *Athens*; *Plato* designing by his pleasant Conversation, full of reasonable and witty Mirth, to sweeten and divert *Dion's* austere and melancholy Temper; for *Speucippus* was a very ingenious and merry Droll, as *Timon*, in his Satyrs, calls him.

Exhibits a
Play for the
Youth.

Now, *Plato* intending to exhibit a Play for the Youth, *Dion* took upon him the ordering and management thereof, and and defray'd the whole Expence at his own Charge; *Plato* giving him this Opportunity to oblige the *Athenians*, which was like to procure his Friend more kindness than himself credit. *Dion* went also to see several other Cities, and was entertain'd in their Publick Assemblies by those of the best Quality, and the greatest States-men; betraying nothing

Travels in
Greece.

thing in his Conversation either rude or unbecoming; neither taking too much state upon him, nor of too easie condescension; but in all his behaviour shew'd a great deal of Modesty, Generosity, and Manly Bravery: And in his Philosophical and Political Discourses, no less Skill and Learning; by which means he gain'd the love and respect of all men, and in many Cities had Publick Honours decreed him: The *Lacedæmonians* making him a Citizen of *Sparta*, without regard to the displeasure of *Dionysius*, tho' at that time he aided them in their Wars against the *Thebans*.

Is made Citizen of
Sparta.

It is reported, that *Dion*, upon an Invitation, went to the House of *Pteodorus*, the *Megarensian*, who was a very Potent and Wealthy Man; and when by reason of the great concourse of People about his Doors, who waited the dispatch of Business, his access was troublesome and difficult, turning about to his friends, who seem'd concern'd and angry at it, What reason, said he, have we to blame *Pteodorus*, who our selves us'd our Visitants no better when we were at *Syracuse*?

Soon after, *Dionysius* envying *Dion*, and withal jealous of the favour and interest he had among the *Grecians*, put a stop

His Revenues
stoppt.

stop upon his incomes, and no longer sent him his Revenues; making his own Commissioners Trustees of the Estate; but endeavouring to obviate the ill will and discredit, which upon *Plato's* account might accrue to him among the Philosophers, he got into his Court many that were reputed Learned Men; and ambitiously desiring to surpass them all in their Debates, he was forc'd to make use of (tho' sometimes impertinently) what he had occasionally learnt of *Plato*, and now wish'd for his Company again, repenting he had not made better use of it when he had it, and given no greater heed to his excellent Precepts and Discourses: Like a Tyrant therefore, inconsiderate in his Desires, heady and violent in his Passions; on a sudden he was eagerly bent on the design of recalling him, and left no stone unturn'd, but prevail'd with *Archytas* the *Pythagorean*, by whose means he first became acquainted and familiar with *Plato*, to stand oblig'd for the performances of his Promises, and to persuade him to return into *Sicily*.

Plato sent for. *Archytas* therefore sent *Archidemus*, and *Dionysius* a Galley, with divers Friends, to entreat his return; moreover, he writ to him himself expressly and in plain terms,

terms, that *Dion* must never look for any favour or kindness, if *Plato* would not be prevail'd with to come into *Sicily*; but upon his arrival he might then be assur'd of whatever he desir'd. *Dion* also was much sollicit'd by his Sister and his Wife to oblige *Plato* to gratifie *Dionysius* in this request, and pretend no excuse to the contrary. So that, as *Plato* says of himself, the third time he set Sail for *Sicily*,

Venturing again to shoot Charibdis dangerous Gulph.

This arrival brought great joy to *Dionysius*, and no less hopes to the *Sicilians*, who were as earnest in their wishes, as studious in their endeavours, that *Plato* might get the better of *Philistus*, and Philosophy triumph over Tyranny: Neither was he unbefriended by the Ladies, who upon all occasions studied to oblige him; but he had from *Dionysius* that peculiar Credit, which no man else ever obtain'd, to that degree of confiding, that he might come into his Presence without being examin'd or search'd. When the King offer'd him a very considerable sum of Money, and repeated the tender of his Bounty; but *Plato* still refus'd

refus'd to accept it, *Aristippus*, the *Cyrenian*, then present, said, That *Dionysius* was liberal without danger of hurting his Treasury; for to those that wanted much he gave very little, and a great deal to *Plato*, who receiv'd nothing.

After the first Complements of kindness were over, when *Plato* began to discourse of *Dion*, he was at first diverted by dilatory Excuses, which soon after begat feuds and disgusts, tho' as yet not publicly taken notice of; *Dionysius* endeavouring all he could to conceal them; and by other Civilities and Honourable usage, to draw him off from his kindness to *Dion*: *Plato*, for some time, did not divulge this his perfidious dealing, and breach of promise, but bore with it, and dissembled his resent: While matters stood thus betwixt them, and, as they thought, they were unobserv'd, and undiscover'd, *Helicon* the *Cyzicene*, one of *Plato's* followers, fore-told an Eclipse of the Sun, which happened according to his Prediction; for which he was much admir'd by the King, and rewarded with a Talent of Silver. *Aristippus*, drolling with some others of the Philosophers, told them, he also had something extraordinary to Prognosticate; which they entreating him to declare, *I fore-tell*, said he,

he, that *Dionysius* and *Plato* will in a very little time fall out.

At length, *Dionysius* made Sale of *Dion's* Estate, converted the Money to his own use, and removed *Plato* from an Apartment he had in the Gardens of the Palace, to Lodgings near those of the Guards he kept in Pay, who bore *Plato* an old grudge, and sought Opportunity to make him away; supposing he advis'd *Dionysius* to lay down the Government, and disband his Souldiers. When *Archytas* understood the danger *Plato* was in, he immediately sent a Galley with Messengers to demand him of *Dionysius*; alledging, that he stood engag'd for his safety, upon the confidence of which, *Plato* came for *Sicily*. *Dionysius*, to palliate his secret hatred, before *Plato* came away, treated him with great Entertainments, and all seeming demonstrations of kindness; but could not forbear breaking out one day into such an expression as this; No doubt, *Plato*, but when you are at home among the Philosophers your Companions, you will complain of me, and reckon up a great many of my faults. To which *Plato* smiling, return'd Answer, I hope, Sir, we shall never be so put to it in the Academy, for want of Subjects to discourse of, as to talk of you. Thus they

Sent away
again.

they say *Plato* was dismiss'd; but his own Writings do not altogether agree with this Relation.

Dion was very angry at this, and not long after he declared himself an open Enemy to *Dionysius*, having receiv'd some intelligence concerning his Wife, about which *Plato* by Letters had held a Correspondence with *Dionysius*; now thus it was. After *Dion*'s Banishment, *Dionysius* sending back *Plato*, desir'd him to ask *Dion* privately, if he would be against his Wife's marrying another Man; (for there went a report, whether true, or rais'd by *Dion*'s Enemies, was uncertain; that his Marriage was not pleasing to him, and that he liv'd with his Wife uneasie and dissatisfied:) When *Plato* therefore came to *Athens*, and had discours'd the matter with *Dion*, he writ a Letter to *Dionysius*, in which he express'd every thing else plainly and intelligibly; but this affair in covert and abstruse terms, that none else but he might understand it; signifying therein to him, that he had talk'd with *Dion* about the business, and that it was evident, he would highly resent the Affront, if *Dionysius* should attempt any such thing: At that time therefore, while there were yet great hopes of an accommodation,

he

he alter'd nothing in his Sisters concerns, suffering her to live with *Dion*'s Son; but when things were come to that pass, that no Reconciliation could be expected, and that *Plato*, after his second return, was again sent away in displeasure, he then forc'd *Arete*, against her will, to Marry *Timocrates*, one of his Favourites; in this Action coming short, even of his Fathers Justice and Lenity. For when *Philoxenus*, who had married his Sister *Theste*, being in disgrace, and his declar'd Enemy, for fear had fled and left *Sicily*, he sent for his Sister, and tax'd her, that being privy to her Husbands flight, she had not declar'd it to him: But the Lady, confident and fearless, made him this reply: *Do you believe me, Brother, so bad a* *Theste's An-*
Wife, or so timorous a Woman, that having *swer to Dionysius the First.*
known my Husband's flight, I would not have
born him company, and shar'd the worst of
his Fortunes? Alas! I was ignorant of it;
for better had it been for me, and more honourable,
to be called the Wife of the Exile
Philoxenus, than the Sister of the Tyrant
Dionysius. 'Tis said, the King admir'd her ready and confident answer; the *Syracusians* also honour'd her for her Bravery; insomuch, that she retain'd her Dignity and Princely Retinue after the dissolution of the Tyranny; and when

she

she dyed, the Citizens, by Publick Decree, attended the Solemnity of her Funeral. Tho' this be a digression from the present purpose, it is not altogether an useless Remarque.

Dion resolves
upon a War
with *Dionysius*.

From this time, *Dion* set his mind wholly upon a War, tho' *Plato* was against it with a modest regret, reflecting upon the Entertainment he had received from *Dionysius*; and also considering *Dion's* Age: But *Spencippus*, and the rest of his friends assisted and encouraged him to undertake the deliverance of *Sicily* from Slavery, which in humble manner, with lift up hands, seem'd to implore his help, and with open Arms ready to receive him. For when *Plato* sojourn'd at *Syracuse*, *Spencippus* being oftner than he in company with the Citizens, thoroughly understood how they were inclin'd; and tho' at first he was shy of, and suspected their bold talk, fearing they were set on by the King to trepan him; yet at length he gave ear and credit to what they said. They generally agreed in their wishes and prayers that *Dion* would undertake the Design, and come, tho' without either Navy, Men, Horse, or Arms; that he would put himself aboard a Ship, and lend the *Sicilians* only his Person and Name against *Dionysius*. This Informa-

Is encourag'd
by the *Sicili-
ans* readiness
to assist him.

tion

tion from *Spencippus* encourag'd *Dion*, who that he might the better conceal his Design, he employed his Friends privately to raise what Men they could; many great States-men and Philosophers were assisting to him; among whom was *Cyprius Endemius*, (on whose Death *Aristotle* writ his Dialogue of the Soul) and *Timonides*, the *Leucadian*; they also engag'd on his side *Miltas*, the *Thessalian*, who was skilful in fore-telling Events, and his fellow-Student in the *Academy*: Of all that were Banish'd by *Dionysius*, who were not fewer than a thousand, five and twenty only list'd themselves; the rest for fear declin'd the undertaking. The general Rendezvous was in the Island *Zacynthus*, whither they marched a small *Zante*. Army, being not in all eight hundred compleat; but all of them experienc'd Men, who had signaliz'd themselves in many and great Engagements; well disciplin'd and inur'd to hardship, and for Courage and Conduct, the very flower of all the Souldiery; and such as by their Example would animate and encourage to action the numerous Forces *Dion* hoped to have in *Sicily*. Yet these Men, when they first understood the Expedition was against *Dionysius*, were troubled and disheartned, blaming *Dion*, that hurried on

L I

like

like a mad man by his Passion and Despair, he rashly threw both himself and them into certain Ruine: Nor were they less angry with their Commanders and Muster-Masters, that they did not in the beginning let them know the design of the War. But when he had in an Oration set forth the unsafe and weak condition of Arbitrary Government; and declar'd that he carry'd them rather for Commanders than Souldiers; the Citizens of *Syracuse*, and the rest of the *Sicilians* having been long ready for a Revolt: And after him, *Alcimenes*, a *Grecian* Noble-man of great Quality and Reputation, who accompanied him in the Expedition, harangued them to the same effect; they were quiet and contented.

Dion Sacrifices
to Apollo.

It was now the midst of Summer, and the Winds blew which are constant to that season of the Year, call'd by the *Greeks Etesie*; the Moon being at the Full, when *Dion* prepar'd a Magnificent Sacrifice to *Apollo*, and with great Solemnity march'd his Souldiers to the Temple in all their Arms and Accoutrements; after the Sacrifice, he feasted them all in the Publick *Cirque*, or place of Exercise of the *Zacynthians*, where he had made Provision for their Entertainment; who seeing with wonder the plenty and richness of

of Gold and Silver Plate; and the Tables furnish'd in an extraordinary manner, far exceeding the fortunes of a private Man, concluded with themselves, that one of his Age, and Master of so much Treasure, would not engage himself in so hazardous an Enterprize, without good assurance of hope, and certain and sufficient Supplies from his Friends. As they were offering Wine to the Gods, and performing their customary Devotions, the Moon was Eclipsed, which was no wonder to *Dion*, who understood the revolutions of Eclipses, and how the Moon was over-shadow'd by the direct interposition of the Earth between her and the Sun: But because it was necessary that the Souldiers should be satisfied and encourag'd, who were surpriz'd and troubled at it; *Miltas* the Diviner standing up in the midst of the Assembly, bid them be of good cheer, and expect all happy success; for that the Gods did foretell something that was at present glorious and resplendent should be eclipsed and obscured. Now, nothing being more resplendent than the Grandeur of *Dionysus*, their arrival in *Sicily* should Cloud the glory, and extinguish the brightness of that Illustrious Empire. Thus *Miltas* in publick descanted upon the Accident:

The Moon
Eclipse'd.

Prodigies be-
fore the War
in Sicily.

But concerning a swarm of Bees, which settled on the Poop of *Dion's* Ship, he privately told him and his Friends, that he fear'd the great Actions they were like to perform, tho' for a time they should thrive and flourish, would be of short continuance, and soon suffer a Decay. It is reported also, that many ill-boding Prodigies hapned to *Dionysius* at that time. An Eagle snatching a Javelin from one of the Guard, carried it aloft, and from thence let it fall into the Sea. The water of the Sea, that washed the Castle Walls, was for a whole day sweet and potable; as many that tasted it experienc'd. Piggs were farrow'd perfect in all their other parts, but without Ears. The Diviners did declare this to portend a Revolt and Rebellion; for that the Subjects would no longer give ear to the Commands of their Superiours. They expounded the sweetness of the Water to signifie to the *Syracusians*, a Change from bad and woful Times into better and more happy Circumstances. The Eagle, being the Bird of *Jupiter*, and the Spear, an Emblem of Power and Command: This Prodigy was to denote, That *Jupiter*, the chief of the Gods, design'd the destruction and dissolution of the present Government. These things *Theopompus* in his History relates.

Two

Two great Ships carried all *Dion's* Men, *Dion* sets Sail with his Fleet. which were tended by a third somewhat less, and two Galleys of thirty Oars. Besides his Souldiers Arms, he carried two thousand Shields, a very great number of Darts and Lances, and abundant stores of all manner of Provisions, that there might be no want of any thing in their Voyage; because they resolved to keep out at Sea, and ply in the Main, fearing to come near the shore; upon advice that *Philistus* rode at Anchor in the Bay of *Apulia* with a Fleet ready to intercept them. Twelve days they sail'd with a fresh and gentle gale; the thirteenth they made *Pachynus*, a fore-land of *Sicily*. There the chief Pilot advis'd them to Land presently; for if they were forc'd again from the shoar, and did designedly pass the Cape, they might ride out at Sea many Nights and Days, expecting a Southerly Wind in the Summer season. But *Dion* fearing a descent too near his Enemies, and desirous to land at greater distance, and further up in the Country, weather'd the Cape *Pachinus*. They had not sail'd long, before stress of Weather (the Wind blowing hard at North) drove the Fleet from the Coast, it being a very stormy Season, much about the time that *Arcturus* appears; and there hap-

Passes the
Cape *Pachinus*.

L 1 3

hap-

Is driven to
the Coast of
Africk.

Arrives at
Minoa in *Sicily*.

happning then a great deal of Thunder and Lightning, with violent Rains, and tempestuous gusts of Wind, the Mariners were at their wits end, and wholly ignorant what Course they ran; till on a sudden they found they were driven to *Circina*, an Island on the Coast of *Africk*, craggy, and full of dangerous Rocks, upon which they scap'd narrowly of being forc'd and stav'd to pieces; but labouring hard at their Oars, with much difficulty they kept clear until the Storm ceas'd. Then lighting by chance upon a Vessel, they understood they were upon the beginning of the Flats, call'd the great *Synais*: Being now again disheartned by reason of a sudden Calm, and beating too and again, without making any way, they had a Southerly briele from the Shoar, when they least expected the Wind in that quarter, and scarce believ'd the happy change of their Fortune. The Gale increasing, and beginning to blow fresh, they clapt on all their Sails, and praying to the Gods, put out again to Sea, steering to rights for *Sicily* from the Coast of *Africk*; and running steady before the Wind, the fifth day they arriv'd at *Minoa*, a little Town of *Sicily*, in the Possession of the *Carthaginians*; of which, *Synalus*, an Acquaintance and Friend of
Dion's

Dion's hapned at that time to be Governour; who not knowing it was *Dion* and his Fleet, endeavour'd to hinder his Men from Landing; but they made their descent with their Swords in their hands, yet slew none of their Opponents (for that *Dion* had strictly forbidden them, because of the kindness he had for the Governour) but forc'd them to retreat; and following close, press'd in a body with them into the place, and took it. Takes the Town.
As soon as the two Commanders met, they mutually saluted each other; and *Dion* deliver'd up the place again to *Synalus* without the least damage done to any one therein. *Synalus* Quarter'd and Entertain'd the Souldiers, and supplied *Dion* with what he wanted. They were very much encourag'd by the lucky accident of *Dionysius's* absence at that nick of time, for he was lately gone with eighty Sail of Ships into *Italy*: Wherefore, when *Dion* perswaded the Souldiers to refresh themselves there after their tedious and troublesom Voyage, they would not be prevail'd with, but earnest to make the best use of that Opportunity, they urg'd *Dion* to lead them straight on to the Capital City. Leaving therefore their Baggage, and the Arms they did not use, *Dion* desir'd *Synalus* to convey them to
L 1 4 him

Marches to
Syracuse.

him as he had occasion, and march'd directly to *Syracuse*.

The first that came in to him upon his march, were two hundred Horse of the *Agrigentines*, who inhabit near *Ecnomus*; and after them, the *Geloans*: Which News soon flying to *Syracuse*, *Timocrates*, who had married *Dion's* Wife, the Sister of *Dionysius*, and was left Commander in Chief in the City in his absence, immediately dispatch'd a Courier to *Dionysius* with an Express concerning *Dion's* arrival; while he himself took all possible care to prevent any stirs or tumults that might arise in the City; where all were in great suspense, but as yet continued quiet, fearing to give too much credit to what was reported. A very strange Accident hapned to the Messenger who was sent with the Letters; for being arriv'd in *Italy*, as he travell'd thro' the Country of the *Brutii*, hasting to *Dionysius* at *Caulonia*, he met one of his Acquaintance, who was carrying home part of a Sacrifice. The Fellow accepted a piece of the Flesh, which his Friend offer'd him, and proceeded in his Journey with all speed: But having travell'd hard a good part of the Night, and being, through weariness, forc'd to take a little Rest, he laid himself down in the next

con-

By a strange
Accident *Dionysius* hears
not of *Dion's*
arrival.

convenient place he came to, which was in a Wood near the Road. A Wolf winding the Flesh, came and seiz'd it as it was fastned to the Mail, and therewith carried it away also, in which was the Express to *Dionysius*. The man awaking, and missing his Mantua, sought for it up and down a great while, and not finding it, resolv'd not to go to the King without his Letters, but to conceal himself, and keep out of the way. *Dionysius* therefore came to hear of the War in *Sicily*, from other Hands, and that a good while after.

As *Dion* proceeded in his March, the *Camarineans* joyn'd his Forces, and many of the Territory of *Syracuse* revolting, came in to him: the *Leontines* and *Campanians*, who, with *Timocrates*, guarded the *Epipole*, receiving a false Alarm, which was spread on purpose by *Dion*, as if he intended first to attack their Cities, left *Timocrates*, and hasted home to take care of their own Concerns. When this News was brought to *Dion*, where he lay near *Macra*, he rais'd his Camp by Night, and came to the River *Anapus*, which is distant from the City about ten Furlongs; there he made a halt, and sacrific'd by the River, directing his Devotions to the rising Sun. The South-

The Citizens
meet him at
the Gates.

South-slayers declar'd, That the Gods promis'd him Victory; and they that were present seeing him assist at the Sacrifice, with a Garland on his Head, one and all crown'd themselves with Garlands. There were about five thousand that joyn'd his Forces in their March; who, tho' but ill provided with such Weapons as came next to hand, yet by their Briskness and Courage, supply'd the want of better Arms; and as if *Dion* were already Conqueror, they ran forward with loud Shouts and Acclamations, encouraging each other by the Hopes of regaining their long lost Liberty. The most considerable Men, and better sort of the Citizens of *Syracuse*, clad all in White, met him at the Gates. The Mobile set upon all that were of *Dionysius's* Party, and principally search'd for those they call Setters or Informers; a parcel of wicked Atheistical Wretches, who made it their Business to go up and down the City, thrusting themselves into all Companies, that they might inform *Dionysius* what men said, and how they stood affected. These Varlets were the first that suffer'd, being drub'd and knock'd on the head by the Rabble that light upon them.

Timoc.

Timocrates, not being able to force his way to the Garrison that kept the Castle, taking Horse, fled out of the City; and by his Flight fill'd the places where he came with Fear and Confusion, magnifying all he could *Dion's* Forces, lest he should seem upon a slight Apprehension, to have deserted the City. By this time *Dion* was come up, and appear'd in the sight of the People; he march'd first in a rich Suit of Arms, and by him on one hand his Brother *Megacles*, on the other *Calippus* the *Athenian*, crown'd with Garlands; of the foreign Soldiers a hundred follow'd for his Life-guard. The several Officers led the rest in good Order and Equipage. While the *Syracusians* beheld, and receiv'd them like a sacred and triumphal Proceeding, bringing in, after forty eight years Exile, the Liberty and Authority of the People again into their City, entering by the Gate *Menetide*; and having by sound of Trumpet quieted the Noise of the People, he caus'd Proclamation to be made, That *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to destroy the Tyrannical Government, did declare the *Syracusians*, and all other *Sicilians* to be free from Slavery and Arbitrary Power. But being desirous to harangue the People himself, he went up by the *Acradina*.

Dion marches
into the City
in triumph.

Proclaims the
Sicilians free,

The

The Citizens on each side the way brought Beasts for Sacrifice, set out their Tables, Goblets, and standing Plate; and as he pass'd by, threw Flowers and other *Regalia's* upon him, with Vows and Acclamations, honouring him as a God. There was under the Castle and *Pentapyla*, a lofty and stately Sun-Dial which *Dionysius* had set up; getting up upon the top of that, he made an Oration to the People, perswading them to maintain and defend their Liberty; who with great Expressions of Joy and Acknowledgment, created *Dion* and *Megacles* Lieutenant-Generals, chusing at their Request and Desire, twenty other Collegues, of which half were of those who return'd out of Banishment. It seem'd also to the Diviners a happy Omen, that *Dion*, when he made his Oration to the People, had under his Feet, as a sign of Subjection, that stately Monument which *Dionysius* at his own Expence had erected. But because it was a Sun Dial on the which he stood when he was made General, they express'd some Fears, that the great Actions he had perform'd, might be subject to decline, and admit a sudden change of Fortune.

Is chosen General.
Besieges the Castle.

Dion taking the *Epipole*, releas'd all the Prisoners, and invested the Castle with

with a strong Work. Seven days after *Dionysius* arriv'd, and got into the Citty. *Dionysius* arrives. del, about the same time *Dion* receiv'd the Carriages, with the Arms and Ammunition he left with *Synalus*. These he distributed among the Citizens, the rest that wanted, furnished themselves as well as they could, and express'd great Courage and Readiness for the Service. *Dionysius* sent Agents at first privately to *Dion* to try what Terms they could make with him. But he declaring, that what Overtures they had, must be in publick, the *Syracusians* being now no longer in Subjection, but at liberty to manage their own Affairs: They then address'd themselves to the Citizens, with fair Words and specious Promises, assuring them, That they should have Abatements of their Tributes and Taxes, not be compell'd to serve in the Wars, tho undertaken by their own Approbation and Consent. The *Syracusians* laugh'd at these Offers, and *Dion* return'd their Answer, That *Dionysius* must not think to treat with them upon any other Terms, but resigning the Government; which, if he would actually do, he would not forget how nearly he was related to him, or be wanting to assist him in whatsoever, was reasonable and just. *Dionysius* seemed Sends to treat with Dion and the Citizens. Their Answer.

seemed to consent to this, and sent his Agents again, desiring some of the *Syracusians* to come into the Cittadel, and consult with him for the good of the Publick, being ready to make fair Propositions, which he believed they could not but yield to, and equally willing to accept such as they had to offer him. There were therefore some deputed, such as *Dion* approv'd of; and the general News from the Castle, was, That *Dionysius* would voluntarily resign his Authority, and that he did it out of Choice rather than Compulsion. But this was only a feign'd Device, and crafty Trick to amuze the *Syracusians*; for he imprison'd the Deputies that were sent to him, and caus'd the Garrison by break of Day, having first, to encourage them, made them drink plentifully, to make a sudden salley, and attack the Works *Dion* had made. The Alarm being unexpected, and the Action carried on with a great deal of Courage and Resolution on the part of the Besieg'd, they broke through the Works, and with loud Shouts assail'd the Besiegers so furiously, that they were not able to maintain their Post. But a Party of *Dion's* men taking the Alarm, halted to their Relief; neither did they at first know what to do,

or

or how to employ the Aid they brought; not being able to hear the Commands of their Officers, for the horrid Noise and Confusion of the *Syracusians* which fled from the Enemy; and do what they could, ran in among them, and broke thro their Ranks; till *Dion* seeing none of his Orders could be heard, resolv'd to let them see by his Example what they ought to do; and charg'd into the thickest of the Enemy: The Fight about him was fierce and bloody; for he being signally known, as well by the Enemy, as his own Party, they ran with great Noise and Fury to the Quarter where he fought. Tho by reason of his Age he was unfit for such a brisk Engagement, yet with great Vigour and Courage he charg'd all he met, cutting in pieces several of the Enemy that withstood him, till he was wounded in the Hand with a Lance; his Armour also being very much battered in this close Fight, and scarce any longer serviceable, and having many Hurts thro his Shield, by Arrows and Darts, wherewith they gall'd him at distance; at length he fell to the ground, but was immediately rescued, and carried off by his Souldiers. The Command in chief he left to *Timonides*, and mounting his Horse, rid about the City, rallying'd

Dionysius puts
the Deputies
in Prison.

Makes a Sal-
ley.

Is wounded,

And carried
off.

Dionysius's
men beat into
the Castle.

ly'd those that fled, and commanding a Detachment of the foreign Soldiers out of *Acradina*, where he had posted them to guard that Place, he brought them as a fresh Reserve upon the Enemy, who were tired with the heat of the Action, and well nigh ready to give over their Design; for having hopes at their first Salley to have re-taken the City, when beyond their Expectation, they found such brave Resistance, and now fresh Assaultants, they retreated into the Castle: As soon as they gave ground, the Greek Soldiers pressed hard upon them, and pursu'd them to the very Walls. There were lost in this Action, of *Dion's* men, seventy four, and a very great number of the Enemy; this being a signal Victory, and principally obtain'd by the Valour of the foreign Soldiers. The *Syracusians* rewarded them with a hundred *Grecian* Pounds, and presented *Dion* a Crown of Gold.

Letters sent to
Dion from *Dionysius*.

Soon after this, there came Messengers from *Dionysius*, bringing *Dion* Letters from the Ladies his Relations; and one was superscrib'd, *Hipparinus to his Father Dion*: this was the Name of *Dion's* Son, tho *Timæus* saies, he was from his Mother *Arete's* Name, call'd *Areteus*; but I think credit is rather to be given to *Timonides's*

moni-

monides's Report, who was his fellow-Soldier and Confident. The rest of the Letters were read publickly, containing many Solicitations and humble Requests of the Ladies; but the People not admitting that which was sent from his Son to be unseal'd, *Dion* forcibly broke it open. It was from *Dionysius* seemingly writ to *Dion*, but in effect to the *Syracusians*, and so worded, that under a plausible Justification of him, and civil Requests to him, was couch'd a Design of rendring him suspected to the People. He reminded him of the good Service he had formerly done the Government, and how vigorous an Assertor he had been of the Prerogative; adding many Threats to his dearest Relations, his Sister, Son, and Wife, if he did not comply with the Contents; conjuring him in the most passionate and moving Expressions to have regard to their Safeties. But that which touch'd *Dion* most, was, he earnestly entreated him, That he would not destroy the Government, but take it upon himself, and not put the Power into the Hands of those men, who always hated him, and would never forget their old Picques and Quarrels, but keep it in his own, and thereby secure from Injuries and Violence himself, his Friends, and Dependants.

M m

When

Dion suspect-
ed.

Heracles ar-
rives.

Courts the
Mobile.

When this Letter was read, the Mobile did not (as they ought in Justice) pay a due Deference to the unmoveable Constancy and Bravery of *Dion*, who withstood all his most pressing Concerns, to be true to his Virtue, and his Honour; but from hence took Occasion to fear and suspect that he lay under invincible Obligations to be favourable to *Dionysius*; and therefore began already to be hankring after a new General; and the rather, because to their great Joy, they receiv'd the News of *Heracles*'s arrival. This *Heracles* was one of those whom *Dionysius* had banish'd, a very good Souldier, and of great Note for the considerable Commands he had formerly under the King; yet a Man of no constant Resolution, but of a fickle Temper, and least of all steady and unbiass'd when he had either a Rival or a Colleague in any honourable Command. He had a Difference formerly with *Dion* in *Peloponnesus*, and thereupon resolv'd upon his own Fund, with what Ships and Souldiers he had, to make War upon *Dionysius*. When he arriv'd at *Syracuse* with seven Galleys and three Ships, he found *Dionysius* already close besieg'd, and the *Syracusians* high and proud of their Victories. Forthwith therefore he endeavour'd

by all ways to make himself popular; and indeed he had in him naturally something that was very insinuating and taking with the Mobile, who love to be courted and cajol'd. He gain'd his end also the easier, and drew the People over to his side, because they were angry with *Dion*, and dislik'd his Gravity, as too majestical, Stately, and not enough condescending; for Success had made them head-strong and insolent, so that they now thought fit to be treated with, and harangu'd as a free People, before they had in reality obtain'd their Freedom. Getting therefore together in a riotous Assembly, they chose *Heracles* their Admiral; but when *Dion* came and complain'd, That conferring this Trust upon *Heracles*, was, in effect, to cancel what they had formerly granted him (for he was no longer their *Generalissimo*, if another had the Command of the Navy) they repeal'd their Order, and, tho' fore against their Wills, took his Commission away again. When this Business was over, *Dion* invited *Heracles* to his House, and gave him a gentle Reprimand, That he did not well, nor advisedly to quarrel him upon a Punctilio of Honour at a time, when the least false Step might be the Ruine of their whole Design; and then calling a Common-Council, he made

Is chosen Ad-
miral.

Heraclides Admiral, and prevail'd with the Citizens to allow him a Life-guard, as he himself had.

Heraclides openly pretended much Obedience for *Dion*, and made him great Acknowledgments for this Favour, attending him with all Submission, as ready to receive his Commands; but underhand he dealt with, and tainted the Mobile and Innovators, so that he involv'd *Dion* in perpetual Disturbances, and created him much Perplexity and Disquiet; for if he advis'd to give *Dionysius* Pass-port to leave the Castle, he was censur'd as designing to deliver and protect him: if to avoid giving the People any Trouble or Suspicion, he continued the Siege, they cry'd out, He protracted the War the longer to keep his Command of General, and over-awe the Citizens. There was one *Sosis*, notorious in the City for a bold and wicked Villain, yet a great Pretender to the Liberty and Property of the Subject; especially that which consists in the uncontrollable Freedom of their Tongues. This Fellow plotting against *Dion*, stood up one Day in an Assembly, and having sufficiently rail'd at the Citizens, as a parcel of Sots and Blockheads, that could not see how they had made an Exchange of a dissolute and drunken Tyrant, for a sober and crafty

Ma-

Master, publickly declar'd, he was absolutely against *Dion*, and Arbitrary Government; and so he took his leave of the Company. The next Day he was seen running thro' the Streets (as if he fled from some that pursued him) almost stark naked, wounded in the Head, and bloody all over: in this pickle, getting the Rabble about him, he told them, That he was barbarously assaulted by *Dion's* Men; and to confirm what he said, shew'd them the Wounds he had receiv'd in his Head. The Mobile in general took his part, raging and railing against *Dion*, as cruel and tyrannical, who took such Arbitrary Courses to stop the Mouths of the People, by knocking them on the Head. Just as they were in this seditious and tumultuous Hurly-burly, *Dion* came to vindicate himself, and made it appear, That this *Sosis* was Brother to one of *Dionysius's* Guard; and that he was set on by him to embroil the City in Tumult and Confusion: *Dionysius* having now no way left for his Security, but to make his Advantage of their Dissentions and Distractions. The Chyrurgions also having search'd the Wound, found it was rather raz'd, than cut with a downright Blow; for the Wounds made with a Weapon are most commonly deepest

M m 3

in

Sosis plots against *Dion*.

in the middle, but this was very slight, and all along of an equal depth; that it was not one continued Wound, as if cut at once, but several Incisions, in all probability, made at several times, as he was able to endure the Pain. There were some too that knew him, who brought a Razor, and shew'd it openly to the Company, declaring, That they met *Sosis* running in the Street all bloody, who told them, That he had narrowly escap'd with his Life from *Dion's* Souldiers, who had sorely wounded, and were still in pursuit of him. They hastening to take the Pursuers, could meet with no man, but spy'd this Razor lying under a hollow Stone near the place from which they observ'd he came. *Sosis* was now like to go by the worst of it. But when, to back all this, his own Servants came in and gave Evidence, That he came out of his own House alone before break of Day, with a Razor in his Hand, *Dion's* Accusers sneak'd away, and the People by a general Vote, condemn'd *Sosis* to die, being once again well satisfyed with *Dion*, and his Proceedings.

Yet they were still no less jealous of his Souldiers, and the rather because the War was now carried on principally by

Sea;

Sea; for that *Philistus* was come from *Apulia* with a great Fleet to *Dionysius's* Assistance, they supposed therefore that there would be no longer need of the Greek Souldiers, who were all Land-men, and arm'd accordingly, and rather in a Condition to be protected by them, who were skilful Sea-men, and depended at present chiefly upon the strength of their Shipping. They grew also more haughty, and self-conceited, by the Advantage they got in an Engagement by Sea, in which they took *Philistus* Prisoner, and us'd him in a most barbarous and cruel manner. *Ephorus* relates, That when he saw his Ship was taken, he slew himself. But *Timonides*, who from the Beginning of the War was with *Dion* in all the considerable Actions, writing to *Spencippus* the Philosopher, relates the Story, That *Philistus's* Galley running a-ground, he was taken Prisoner alive, and first disarm'd, then stript, and expos'd stark naked, tho an Old Man, to all sorts of Scorn and Contumely; afterward they cut off his Head, and gave the Rabble his Body, who drag'd it along the *Acradina*, and then threw it into a Common-shore. *Timens* upbraiding him, adds further, That the Boys tied him by his lame Leg, and so drew him through the Streets of

Philistus arrives with a Fleet to help *Dionysius*.
Taken Prisoner, and slain.

M m 4

the

Is found guilty of false Accusation, and condemn'd to die.

Timæus the
Historian.

the City, while the *Syracusians* insulted over his Carcass, to see him tied by the Leg, who said, It would not become *Dionysius* to be beholding to the Swiftness of his Horse to fly from his Throne, but rather to be drag'd from thence by the Heels; tho' *Philistus* relates, That this was said to *Dionysius* by another, and not by himself. But *Timæus* takes this Occasion, and truly a just one, of his zealous and constant Adherence to the Tyranny, to vent his own Spleen and Malice against him. They indeed who were injur'd by him, are the more excusable, if they express their Resent in Indignities to his dead Body; but they who write his History after his Death, and were no way wrong'd by him in his life time, but have had the Advantage of his learned Writings, in Honour ought not with opprobrious and scurrilous Language upbraid him for those Misfortunes, which many times by unhappy Accidents have befall'n even the best of Men. On the other side, *Ephorus* is as much out of the way in the lavish *Encomiums* he bestows on *Philistus*; for tho' he is very good at disguising base and unworthy Actions with fair and colourable Pretences, and in his Expressions is very florid and Rhetorical, yet when he has done his best, he

he can never acquit him of the Imputation he lies under, of being of all Mankind the most zealous Assertor of Arbitrary Government; and that no man ever more industriously promoted, or fondly admir'd the Luxury, Power, Riches, and Alliances of such as made themselves absolute Princes. But between both these Extreams, he that neither praises *Philistus* for his Faults, nor insults over his Misfortunes, seems to me best to consult his own Credit, and perform the part of an Historian.

After *Philistus's* Death, *Dionysius* sent to *Dion*, offering to surrender the Castle, all the Arms, Provisions, and Garrison-Souldiers, with full Pay for them for five Months, demanding, That he might have safe Pass-port to go unmolested into *Italy*, and there to continue, and also enjoy the Seigniorship of *Gyara* (a large and fruitful Territory in the Precinct of *Syracuse*, reaching from the Sea-side to the middle of the Country.) *Dion* rejected these Proposals, and referr'd him wholly to the *Syracusians* to treat with them. And they hoping in a short time to take *Dionysius* alive, dismiss'd his Ambassadors without Audience; which he understanding, left his eldest Son *Apollocrates* to defend the Castle; and putting aboard those

Dionysius
makes offer of
Surrender.

Receives no
Answer.

Ephorus the
Historian.

Makes his Escape by Sea.

Hippon a Leveller.

Heraclides joins with him.

those he lov'd best of his Friends, and the richest of his Goods and Treasure, took the Opportunity of a fair Wind, and made his Escape undiscovered by the Admiral *Heraclides* and his Fleet.

The Citizens loudly exclaim against *Heraclides* for this Neglect, and were ready to mutiny against him, but he set up one *Hippon*, a great Man with the Populacy, and a notable Haranguer, to propose to them an equal Division of the Lands and Revenues of the Country, alledging, That the Beginning of Liberty was Equality, and that Poverty and Slavery were inseparable Companions. *Heraclides* sided with him in this levelling Project, and encourag'd the Faction against *Dion*, who rigorously oppos'd it; in fine, he perswaded the People to ratify this by their Vote, and pass it into a Law, and farther to decree, That the foreign Soldiers Pay should be stopt, that they would proceed to the Election of new Commanders, take away *Dion's* Commission, and no longer be subject to his severe and imperious Discipline. The People eagerly desirous to shake off their Yoke of Slavery, which, as a Disease, had long hung upon them, began to do things at random, and like wilful and lawless Men, inconsiderately destroy'd what

what they endeavour'd to set up; hating *Dion*, who, like a good Physician, endeavour'd to keep the City, by a sparing and regular Diet, in a due and lasting temperament of Health.

When they assembled to choose their Commanders, in the midst of Summer unusual and terrible Thunders, with other dreadful Prodigies for fifteen days together, dispers'd the People, deterring them in point of Religion to create new Generals with such Ominous Prognosticks: But the Leading Men of the City, in a fair and clear day, having got their Party together, to make an Election, a draught-Ox, who was us'd to the croud and noise of the Streets, without any provocation grew unruly to his driver, and breaking his Yoak, ran furiously into the Theatre, where they were assembled, driving out the People before him in great disorder and confusion: From thence madding, and tearing, and throwing down all that stood in his way, he rambled over that part of the City which the Enemies afterwards made themselves Masters of. Nevertheless, the *Syracusians* not regarding all this, elected five and twenty Captains, and among the rest *Heraclides*; and under-hand tamper'd with *Dion's* Men, promising, if they would desert him, and

Sets the Citizens against *Dion*.

They choose five and twenty Commanders.

List

Lift themselves in their Service, to make them Citizens of *Syracuse*, and invest them with all the Priviledges and Immunities of the Natives. But they, to shew their fidelity and courage, with their Swords in their hands, placing *Dion*, for his security, in the midst of their Battalion, march'd out of the City, not offering violence to any one, but openly upbraiding all they met with their baseness and ingratitude. The Citizens slighted them, because they were but few, in respect of their greater numbers, and because they did not first assail them; and supposing they might with ease overpower and cut them all off, before they got out of the City, they fell upon them in the Rear: Here *Dion* was in a great straight, being necessitated either to fight against his own Country-men, or tamely suffer himself and his faithful Souldiers to be cut in pieces. He therefore us'd many entreaties to the *Syracusians*, stretching out his hands towards the Castle, wherein was a strong Garrison, and shewing them the Enemy, who in great numbers appear'd on the Walls to be Spectators of this Action. But no persuasions could stop the impetuous Torrent of the Multitude, who like waves in a Storm were blown up by the seditious breath of their

Dion's Souldiers guard him out of the City.

The Citizens set upon them.

their busie Incendiaries. He commanded his Men therefore not to charge them, but to advance with shouts and clashing of their Arms; which when the *Syracusians* saw, not a man of them durst stand their ground, but fled incessantly through the streets, tho' none but their own fears pursued them. *Dion* presently commanded his Men to face about, and led them towards the City of the *Leontines*.

Fly before them.

Dion marches to the Leontines.

The very Women laught at the new Captains for this cowardly Retreat; who to redeem their Credit, ordering the Citizens to stand to their Arms, followed after *Dion*, and came up with him as he was passing a River; some of the light Horse began to Skirmish. But when they saw *Dion* no more tame and calm, no signs in his Face of his Fatherly tenderness towards his Country-men, but with a stern look, and full of fury, as resolv'd not to suffer their indignities any longer, ordering his Battalia, and ready to give the On-set, they presently turn'd their backs more cowardly and basely than before, and fled to the City, with the loss of some few of their Men.

The Syracusians march after him, and are beaten.

The *Leontines* receiv'd *Dion* very Honourably, rewarded his Men, and made them free of their City; sending Envoys to the *Syracusians*, to require them to do the

The Leontines receive Dion.

the Souldiers Justice, and give them their Pay; who in return, sent back other Agents to accuse *Dion*. But when in a full Assembly of the *Leontines*, the matter was heard and debated, the *Syracusians* appear'd plainly to be in fault; but they refus'd to stand to the award of their Confederates, huffing and disdaining to hearken to any thing but what their cajoling Leaders, and popular Sycophants advis'd them to.

Nypsius arrives
with a Fleet.

About this time *Dionysius* sent a Fleet under the Command of *Nypsius*, the *Neopolitan*, with Provisions and Pay for the Garrison. The *Syracusians* fought him, had the better, and took four of his Ships; but they made very ill use of their good success, and for want of good Discipline to express their Joy, fell to Drinking and Feasting in an extravagant manner, with so little regard to their main concern, that when they thought themselves sure of taking the Castle, they were very near losing their City. *Nypsius* seeing all the Citizens in this disorder, spending Day and Night in their drunken Revels and Debauches, and their Commanders well pleas'd with the Frolick, or at least not daring to contradict the riotous Crew, who were Pot-valiant, and not to be controul'd; taking advantage of this Opportunity,

tunity, made a descent, and storm'd their Works, which having gain'd and ruin'd, he attack'd the City, leaving the ravage of it to the will and mercy of his Souldiers.

Storms the
Works, and
enters the
City.

The *Syracusians* quickly saw their Folly and Misfortune, but could not in the distraction they were in, so soon redress it. The Souldiers made miserable havoc in the City, putting the Men to the Sword, demolishing the Fortifications, dragging the Women and Children with lamentable shrieks and cries Prisoners into the Castle. The Commanders giving all for lost, were not able to put the Citizens in any tolerable posture of defence, who were confusedly mixt with the Enemy. While they were in this condition, and the *Acradina* in danger to be taken, in which was all the hope they had left, and every one was sensible what they wanted; but no man for shame durst name *Dion*, whom they had so ungratefully and basely dealt with; Necessity at last forcing them, some of the Auxiliary Troops cry'd out, *Send for Dion and his Peloponnesians from the Leontines, or we are utterly undone*. No sooner had they the confidence to mention his Name, and it was heard among the People, but they gave a shout for joy, and with tears in their

Dion sent for
back by the
Syracusians.

their Eyes wish'd him there, that they might once again see that Hero at the Head of them, whose Courage and Bravery in the worst of dangers they could never forget; remembering not only with what undaunted Gallantry he always behav'd himself, but also what courage and confidence he inspir'd them with when he led them against the Enemy. They immediately therefore dispatch'd *Archonides* and *Telestides* of the Auxiliaries, and *Hellanicus*, with five more of the Horse; who posting with all the speed they could make, reach'd the City of the *Leontines* in the close of the Evening. The first thing they did, was to leap from their Horses, and fall at *Dion's* feet, with tears relating the sad condition the *Syracusians* were in. Many of the *Leontines* and *Peloponnesians* began to throng about them, guessing by their speed, and the manner of their Address, that there was something extraordinary in the business.

Calls an Assembly.

Dion presently call'd an Assembly, and the People being gathered together in a very little time, *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* came in among them, and in short declar'd the misery and distress of the *Syracusians*; begging the Foreign Souldiers to forget the injuries they had receiv'd, and assist the distressed, who had suffer'd

more

more for the wrong they had done, than they themselves who receiv'd it would (had it been in their power) have inflicted upon them. When they had made an end, there was a profound Silence in the Theatre; *Dion* then stood up, and began to speak, but a flood of Tears stop't his words: his Souldiers were sensibly troubled at his Grief, praying him to moderate his Passion and proceed: When he had therefore recover'd himself a little, *Gentlemen* (says he) *and fellow-souldiers*, *I have call'd you here together to take care of your own Concerns, for it will ill become me to consult my self if Syracuse be lost; which tho' I cannot save from Destruction, I will nevertheless hasten thither, and be buried in the ruins of my Country. Yet if you can find in your hearts to assist us, the most inconsiderate and unfortunate of Men, you may, to your eternal Honour, again retrieve this unhappy City. But if the Syracusians can obtain no more pity nor relief from you, may the Gods reward you for what you have formerly valiantly done for them, and for your constant fidelity and kindness to Dion; who you must remember, as he deserted you not, when injur'd and abus'd, so he cannot now forsake his fellow-Citizens in their Afflictions and Misfortunes.*

His Speech to
his Souldiers.

Before he had well ended his Speech,

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the Souldiers with a great shout testified their readines for the Service, crying out, *To march immediately to the relief of the City.* The *Syracusan* Courriers hugg'd and embrac'd them, praying the Gods to shower down Blessings upon *Dion* and his valiant *Peloponnesians*. When the noise was pretty well over, *Dion* gave Orders that all should to their Quarters, to prepare for their March; and having refresh'd themselves, come compleatly Arm'd to their Rendezvous in the very place they now were; resolving that very Night to hasten to their Succour.

Dionysius's
Men retreat
into the Castle

Now, at *Syracuse*, *Dionysius's* Souldiers, as long as day continued, ransack'd the City, and did all the mischief they could; but when Night came on, they retir'd into the Castle, missing very few of their number; at which the factious Ring-leaders taking heart, and hoping the Enemy would rest content with what they had done, and make no further Attempt upon them; perswaded the People again to reject *Dion*, and if he came with the Foreign Souldiers, not to admit him; advising them not to yield, as inferiour to them in point of Honour and Courage; but to save their City, and defend their Liberties and Properties themselves. The Populacy therefore and their Leaders send

Messen-

Messengers to *Dion*, to forbid him to advance; but the Nobility and the Horse sent others to him, to desire him to hasten his March: For which reason he slack'd his pace, and came forward but slowly; and in the middle of the Night the Faction that was against him set a Guard upon the Gates of the City, to hinder him from coming in.

But *Nysius* made another Sally out of the Castle with a far greater number of Men than before, who quite ruin'd what of the Rampart was left standing, and fell in pell-mell to sack and ravage the City. The slaughter was now very great, not only of the Men, but of the Women also and Children; for they regarded not so much the Plunder, as to destroy and kill all they met. For *Dionysius*, despairing to regain the Kingdom, and mortally hating the *Syracusians*, resolv'd to bury his lost Empire in the utter Ruin and Desolation of *Syracuse*. The Enemy therefore to prevent *Dion's* Succours, resolv'd upon the most terrible and ready way of destruction, to lay the City in ashes; firing all at hand with Torches and other Combustibles; and at distance with flaming Arrows, and other Fireworks, shot from their Bows and Engines. The Citizens in great distraction fled

Make another
Sally.

Fire the City.

N n 2

every

every way before them. They who to avoid the Fire forsook their Houses, were taken in the Streets, and put to the Sword: They who betook themselves for Refuge into the Houses, were forc'd out again by the flames. Many were burnt, and many kill'd by the fall of Houses and ruines of Walls and Towers. This fresh misfortune by general Consent opened the Gates for *Dion*: It hapned that he made no extraordinary hast when he receiv'd advice, that the Enemies were retreated into the Castle; but early in the Morning some Horse brought him the news of another Assault; and soon after, some of those who before oppos'd his coming, fled now to him, to entreat him he would hasten his Relief. The Fire and Desolation increasing, *Heraclides* sent his Brother, and after him, his Uncle *Theodotes*, to beg him to help them; for that now they were not able to make any longer Opposition; that he himself was wounded, and the greatest part of the City was either in ashes, or in flames.

When *Dion* met this sad News, he was about sixty furlongs distant from the City. When he had acquainted the Souldiers with the Exigency, and exhorted them to behave themselves like Men; the Army no longer march'd, but ran forwards, and by

by the way were met by several who beg'd them to quicken their pace. By the wonderful Eagerness of the Souldiers, and their extraordinary Speed, *Dion* quickly came to the City, and entred at the Gate *Hecatompedon*, sending his Vanguard presently to charge the Enemy; that seeing them, the *Syracusians* might take Courage: In the mean time he drew up in good Order his main Body, and all the Citizens that came in and joyn'd him; forming his Batallions long, and setting over them double Officers, that he might, as occasion requir'd, make Detachments, and to amuse and terrifie the Enemy, fight them in several Quarters at once. As they saw him in the Streets advance at the Head of his Men to engage the Enemy, a confused Noise of Shouts, Congratulations, Vows, and Prayers was rais'd by the *Syracusians*, who now call'd *Dion* their Deliverer, their Tutelar-Deity, and his Souldiers their Friends, Brethren, and Fellow-Citizens; none seem'd to regard themselves, or value their safeties, but to be concern'd more for *Dion's* Life, than for all their own together. So daringly he march'd before them to meet the danger, first through Blood and Fire, and over heaps of dead Bodies that lay in his way.

Dion and his men come to their succour.

March in
great danger
thro' the
Ruins.

Beat *Nysius's*
Men into the
Castle.

And indeed the Posture of the Enemy was in appearance terrible; for they were flesh'd with Victory, enrag'd, and had posted themselves very advantageously along the demolish'd Works, which made the approach to them very hazardous and difficult: yet that which discourag'd *Dion's* Men most, was the apprehension they were in of the Fire, which made their march very troublesome and difficult; for the Houses being in flames on all sides, they were surrounded with them, and treading upon burning Ruins, every minute in danger of being overwhelm'd with falling Houses, through clouds of Ashes and Smoak they labour'd hard to keep their Order, and maintain their Ranks. When they came near to the Enemy, by reason of the advantage of their Post, and the inconvenience of a Defile they were to pass, but few of them could engage at a time; but at length fighting with great Bravery, and the *Syracusians* with shouts encouraging their Party, *Nysius's* Men were beaten off and routed; most of them escaped into the Castle, which was near at hand; all that could not get in, were pursued and pick'd up here and there by the Soldiers, and put to the Sword.

The

The present Exigence did not suffer the Citizens to reap the benefit of their Conquest in such mutual Congratulations and expressions of Joy as become the Victorious; for now all were busily employ'd to save what Houses were left standing, labouring hard all Night, and could scarce master the Fire. The next day not one of the Popular Haranguers durst stay in the City, but all of them, knowing their own Guilt, by their flight confess'd it, and secur'd their Lives. Only *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* voluntarily surrendered themselves to *Dion*, acknowledging that they had wrong'd him, and begging he would be kinder to them than they had been just to him; adding, how much it would be for his Honour, who was Master of so many excellent Accomplishments, to moderate his Anger, and be generously compassionate to the Ungrateful; confessing, that they who were formerly his profess'd Enemies, were now absolutely overcome by his Vertue. Tho' they humbly address'd to him, his Friends advis'd him not to Pardon those turbulent and ill-natur'd Men, but to leave them to the mercy of his Souldiers, and utterly root out of the Common-wealth the ambitious Affectation of Populacy; a Disease as Pesti-

The Demagogues leave the City.

N n 4

lent

lent and pernicious as the most Arbitrary Power whatever. *Dion* endeavour'd to satisfy them, telling them, That other Generals employ'd their thoughts and designs chiefly about warlike Acquisitions; but that he had long studied in the *Academy* how to conquer his Passions, and not let Emulation and Envy conquer him. That to do this, it is not sufficient that a Man be obliging and kind to his Friends, and those that have deserv'd well of him; but also indulgent and favourable to those from whom he has receiv'd Injuries and Affronts. That he was resolv'd to let the World see that he valued not himself so much upon excelling *Heraclides* in Ability and Conduct, as he did in out-doing him in Justice and Clemency; herein to have the Advantage is to excell indeed. The Honour of Victory in War is never entire; for Fortune will be sure to claim her share, tho' no man pretend to rival the Conquerour. What if *Heraclides* be perfidious, malicious, and base, must *Dion* therefore sully his Honour, or injure his Vertue by a passionate Concern for it? For tho' the Laws determine it juster to revenge an Injury, than to do an Injury; Yet it is evident, that both Originally proceed from the same deficiency and weakness of Humane Nature:

The

The malicious Humour of Men, tho' perverse and refractory, is not so savage and invincible, but it may be wrought upon by Kindness, and habitually alter'd by repeated Obligations. *Dion* making use of these Arguments, pardon'd and dismiss'd *Heraclides* and *Theodotes*. *Dion pardons Heraclides and Theodotes.*

And now resolving to repair the Blockade about the Castle, he commanded all the *Syracusians* to cut Palisado's, and bring them to the Works; and then dismissing them to refresh themselves, and take their Rest, he employ'd his own Men all Night, and by Morning had finish'd his Line of Circumvallation, and fortified his Trenches. Both the Enemy and the Citizens next day wondred to see the Works so far advanc'd in so short a time; burying therefore their Dead, and redeeming the Prisoners, which were near two Thousand, they call'd a publick Assembly, where *Heraclides* made a Motion, That *Dion* should be declar'd General at Land and Sea. The Nobility approv'd well of it, and desir'd the Commonalty to assent. But the Mobile of Sailors and Handicrafts-men would not yield that *Heraclides* should lose his Command of the Navy; and tho' they knew him to be otherwise an ill Man, yet they believ'd he would be more compliant with the

the

Repeals the
Votes of the
Levellers.

A Famine oc-
casion'd by
the Sedition
in the Army.

the Populacy, than *Dion*, and readier to serve their Ends. *Dion* therefore submitted to them in this, and consented *Heracles* should continue Admiral. But when they began to press the levelling Project of an equal Distribution of Lands and Estates, he not only oppos'd it, but repeal'd all the Votes they had formerly made upon that account, which most sensibly vext them. *Heracles* took Advantage of this, and being at *Messana*, he harangu'd the Souldiers and Ships Crews that sail'd with him, accusing *Dion*, That he had a Design to make himself Absolute: And at the same time he held a private Correspondence with *Dionysius*, by means of his Confident, *Pharax*, a *Spartan*. Which when the Nobility of *Syracuse* had Intimation of, there arose a Sedition in the Army, and the City was reduc'd to that Extremity, that they were almost famish'd for want of Provision. *Dion* now knew not what Course to take, being blam'd by all his Friends, for that he had encourag'd against himself such a troublesome, malicious, and perverse Man as *Heracles* was.

Pharax at this time lay encamp'd at *Neapolis*. *Dion* therefore drew out the *Syracusians*, but with an intent not to en-

gage

gage him, till he saw a fit Opportunity. But *Heracles* and his Sea-men exclaim'd against him, That he delay'd fighting on purpose, that he might the longer continue his Command; so that tho much against his Will he was forc'd to an Engagement, and beaten, his loss being inconsiderable, and that occasion'd too chiefly by the Dissention that was in the Army; he rallied his Men, and having put them in good Order, and encourag'd them to redeem their Credit, resolv'd upon a second Onset. But in the Evening he receiv'd Advice, That *Heracles* with his Fleet were under Sail for *Syracuse*, with a Resolution to possess himself of the City, and keep him, and his Army out; presently therefore taking with him some of the principal Men, and a Party of light Horse, he posted to the City, and got thither about Nine the next Morning, having rid seven hundred Furlongs that Night. *Heracles*, tho he strove to make all the Sail he could, yet coming too late, tack'd and stood out again to Sea; being unresolv'd what Course to steer, accidentally he met *Gastus* the *Spartan*, who let him know, that he was come to head the *Sicilians*, as *Gastippus* had formerly done. *Heracles* readily joyn'd with him, and brag'd to his

Dion, forc'd to
engage *Pharax*,
is beaten.

Prevents *Heracles*
Design of Posses-
sing himself
of the City.

Gastus the
Spartan.

his Sailers, That now he had a Counter-balance to weigh down Dion's Ambition. Hereupon he sent a Herauld to Syracuse to summon them to accept a Spartan General. Dion returned Answer, That they had Generals enough; and if they wanted a Lacedemonian to command them, he could supply that Office, being himself a Citizen of Sparta. When Gæylus saw he had lost his hopes of being Generalissimo, he landed, and reconcil'd Heracles to Dion, making Heracles swear the most solemn Oaths to perform what he engag'd, for which Gæylus himself undertook to be Gaurranty.

The Syracusians then laid up their Navy, which was at present a great Charge, and of little use to them; but an Occasion of Differences and Dissentions among the Generals, and press'd on the Siege, finishing another Breast-work, with which they invested the Castle. The Besieged seeing no hopes of Succours, and their Provisions failing, began to mutiny; so that Apollocrates, in despair of holding longer out for his Father, capitulated, and artickled with Dion to deliver up the Castle, with all the Garrison-Souldiers and Amunition, to have five Galleys and safe Pass-port for himself, his Mother, and Sisters; which Dion granted, and he with them

Apollocrates
delivers up
the Castle up-
on Articles.

them sail'd to Dionysius. Scarce a man in the City but was there to behold this joyful Sight, calling upon those that were absent, to come and see this happy Day. How gloriously the Sun now shin'd upon the Syracusians, who were enfranchis'd and deliver'd from all their Slavery and Oppression. This Flight of Dionysius, being one of the greatest, and most remarkable Examples of Fortune's Inconstancy, that any History mentions, how extraordinary may we imagine their Joy to be? How entire their Satisfaction, who totally subverted the most potent Tyranny that ever was, by very slight and inconsiderable Means?

When Apollocrates was under Sail, and Dion going to take Possession of the Castle, the Ladies could not stay while he made his Entry, but ran to meet him at the Gate. Aristomache led Dion's Son, and Arete follow'd after her weeping, fearful, and dubious how to salute, or address to her Husband, because she had so long accompanied with another man. Dion first caress'd his Sister, then his Son; when Aristomache bringing Arete to him, O Dion (said she) your Banishment made us all equally miserable, your Return and Victory has rais'd our drooping Heads, and cancell'd all our Sorrows, excepting this poor Lady's

Dion enters
the Castle.

Takes again
his Wife.

Lady's, whom I, to my great Unhappiness, saw compell'd to be another's, while you were yet alive. Fortune has now given you the sole dispose of us; how will you determine concerning her in these her necessitous Circumstances? Or in what Relation must she salute you, as her Uncle, or as her Husband? This Speech of *Aristomache's* forc'd Tears from *Dion*, who with great Tenderness and Affection embrac'd his Wife, gave her his Son, and desir'd her to retire to his own House, where he intended to reside, when he had deliver'd up the Castle to the *Syracusians*. For tho' all things now succeeded to his Wish, yet he resolv'd not to enjoy any present Advantage of his good Fortune before he had gratify'd his Friends, rewarded his Allies, and bestow'd upon his Fellow-Citizens and foreign Souldiers some special Mark of Favour and Honour; his Generosity herein exceeding his Ability, being content himself with a very frugal and moderate Competency; for which he was much admir'd. That when, not only *Sicily* and *Carthage*, but all *Greece* look'd upon him as extremely happy, and no Man living greater than he, no General more renown'd for Valour and Success: Yet in his Garb, his Attendance, his Table, he seem'd as if he rather common'd with

with *Plato* in the *Academy*, than liv'd among his Souldiers and Officers, who love to be jolly, enjoy themselves plentifully every day, and cheer their Hearts after the toils of War, and dangers they have past. *Plato* indeed writ to him, that the Eyes of all Men were now upon him; but 'tis evident that he himself had fixt his Eye upon one particular place, the *Academy*; and consider'd, That the inquisitive and judicious there regarded not his great Actions, his Courage, or his Fortune, but watch'd to see how temperately and humbly he could bear his Prosperity; how evenly and unconcern'd he could behave himself in the honourable and happy Condition he now was. Neither did he remit any thing of his wonted Reservedness in Conversation, or Majestical Carriage to the People, notwithstanding a little Condescension and obliging Civility was very necessary for his present Affairs. And *Plato*, as we said before, advis'd him to avoid a surly Demeanour, unless he intended to be abandoned by all Company, and live alone by himself. But certainly he was naturally an Enemy to Complaisance; and besides, he had a design to reform the *Syracusians*, and make them more grave and staid, who were grown very disso-

dissolute, foppish, and humorfome. *Heraclides* began again to set up against him; and being sent for one day by *Dion* to Council, he refus'd to come, or consult otherwise than as a Private Citizen, and in a Publick Assembly. Soon after, he impeach'd *Dion*, because he had not demolish'd the Cittadel, and because he had hindred the People from throwing down *Dionysius's* Tomb, and doing despite to the Dead; moreover, he accus'd him for sending to *Corinth* for Counsellors and Assistants in the Government, and thereby neglecting and flighting his Fellow-Citizens. And indeed he had prevail'd with some *Corinthians* to come to him, hoping by their means and presence the better to settle that Government he intended; for he design'd to restrain the unlimited Power of the People, which indeed is not a Government, but (as *Pluto* calls it) a Market, where Authority is bought and sold; and to introduce and establish a mixt Policy made up of the *Spartan* and *Cretian*, betwixt a Commonwealth and a Monarchy, wherein the Nobles did preside and manage the Affairs of greatest Consequence; for he saw the *Corinthians* were chiefly govern'd by the Grandees, and that the People were but little concern'd in Publick Business.

Now

Now, knowing that *Heraclides* would be his most considerable Adversary, who was always a turbulent, fickle, and factious Man; he gave way to some, whom formerly he hindred when they designed to kill him, who breaking in, Murder'd *Heraclides* in his own House. His Death was much resented by the Citizens: *Dion* made him a splendid Funeral, follow'd his Herse with all his Souldiers, and made an Oration to the People; by which they understood, that it would have been impossible to have kept the City quiet, as long as *Dion* and *Heraclides* were Competitors in the Government.

He is Murder'd by *Dion's* means.

Dion had a Friend, call'd *Calippus*, an *Athenian*, who, *Plato* says, grew familiar with him, and his Confident; not upon the merit of his Learning, but because he was introduc'd by him into some Mysterious Ceremonies of their Religion, and so contracted an accidental Acquaintance. This Man was all along with him in the Army in great Honour and Esteem; being the first of his Friends, who march'd by his side into *Syracuse* with a Garland upon his Head, for that he had behav'd himself very well in all the Action, and made himself remarkable for his Courage and Gallantry. He finding that *Dion's* principal and most con-

considerable Friends were cut off in the War, *Heracles* now dead, and the People without a Leader, and that the Soldiers had a great Kindness for him, like a perfidious and wicked Villain, in hopes to get the Chief Command of *Sicily*, by the ruin of his Friend and Benefactor; and, as some say, being brib'd by the Enemy with twenty Talents to destroy *Dion*, inveigled and engag'd several of the Souldiers in a Conspiracy against him, laying this cunning and wicked beginning of his Plot. He daily inform'd *Dion* what he heard, or what he feign'd the Souldiers said against him; whereby he gain'd that Credit and Confidence, that he was allow'd by *Dion* to converse privately with whom he would, and talk freely against him in any Company, that he might discover who were his secret and factious Malignants. By this means *Calippus* in short time got together a Cabal of all the Seditious Discontents in the City; and if any one who would not be drawn in, advis'd *Dion* that he was tamper'd with, he was not troubled or concern'd at it; believing *Calippus* did it in compliance with his Directions.

Dion sees a
strange Ap-
parition.

While this Conspiracy was a foot, a strange and dreadful Apparition was seen by *Dion*, as he sat one Evening in a Gal-

lery

lery in his House, Melancholy and Thoughtful, hearing a sudden Noise, he turn'd about, and saw at the end of the Room, by clear day-light, a tall Woman, in her Countenance and Garb like one of the Tragical Furies, with a Broom in her Hand sweeping the floor; being amaz'd, and terribly affrighted, he sent for some of his Friends, and told them what he had seen; entreating them to stay with him, and keep him company all Night; for he was greatly astonish'd and perplexed, fearing that if he were left alone, the Spectre would again appear to him: He saw that no more. But a few days after, his only Son, being almost grown up to Mans Estate, upon some displeasure and Pet he had taken upon a Childish and frivolous Occasion, threw himself headlong from the top of the House, and brake his Neck.

His Son breaks
his Neck.

While *Dion* was under this Affliction, *Calippus* drove on his Conspiracy, and spread a Rumour among the *Syracusians*, That *Dion* being now Childless, was resolv'd to send for *Dionysius's* Son, *Apollocrates*, who was his Wife's Nephew, and Sister's Grand-Son, and make him his Heir and Successor. By this time, *Dion*, his Wife, and Sister began to suspect what was doing, and were from all hands con-

Dion inform'd
of the Plot.

con-

confirm'd in the belief of the Plot. *Dion*, as 'tis probable, being troubled for *Heraclides* Murder, which was like to be a blot and stain upon his Honour, and the great Actions of his Life, in great anxiety and disquiet declar'd, he had rather die a thousand times, and open his Breast himself to the Assassine, than live not only in fear of his Enemies, but suspicion of his Friends.

Calippus seeing the Ladies very inquisitive to search the bottom of the business, and fearing the event, came to them, utterly denying it with Tears in his Eyes; and offering to give them whatsoever assurances of his Fidelity they desired: They requir'd, That he would take the great Test and Solemn Oath, which was after this manner: The Juror went into the Temple of *Ceres* and *Proserpine*; after the performance of some Ceremonies, he was clad in the Purple Vestment of the Goddess, and holding a lighted Torch in his Hand, took his Oath. *Calippus* did as they requir'd, and forswore the Fact. But he so little valued the Goddess, that he stay'd but till the Festival of *Proserpine*, by whom he had sworn, and on that very day committed his intended Murder; disregarding the Solemnity of the Day, for that he knew

Calippus denies it upon Oath.

he must at any other time as impiously offend her whensoever he, who introduc'd him into her Religion, should be the Murderer of her Devoto.

There were a great many in the Conspiracy; and as *Dion* was at home with several of his Friends in his Entertaining-Room, some of the Conspirators beset the House round, others secur'd the Doors and Windows. The Assassines were *Zacynthians*, who went in to him in their ordinary Habit unarm'd. The Guard without shut the Doors upon them, and kept them fast. The Murderers fell upon him, endeavouring to stifle and dispatch him; but not being able, they call'd for a Sword, but none durst open the Door: There were a great many within with *Dion*, but every one was for securing himself; supposing, that by letting him lose his Life, he should save his own; and therefore no man ventur'd to assist him. When they had waited a good while, at length *Lycon* the *Syracusan*, reach'd a short Sword in at the Window to one of the *Zacynthians*, stun'd and almost senseless as he was, like a Sacrifice at the Altar, they cut *Dion's* Throat; his Sister and Wife big with Child they hurried to Prison, who, poor Lady, in her unfortunate condition, was there brought to Bed of

of a Son, which by the consent of the Keepers they intended to bring up, the rather because *Calippus* began already to be embroy'd in Troubles.

Calippus Chief
at *Syracuse*.

After the Murther of *Dion*, he was the only man that was look'd upon, had the sole Government of *Syracuse* in his Hands; and to that effect writ to *Athens*, a place which, next the Immortal Gods, being guilty of such an abominable Crime, he ought to have reverenc'd and fear'd. But true it is, what is said of that City, That the good Men she breeds are the most Excellent, and the bad the most notorious; as their Country *Attica* produces the most delicious Honey, and the most deadly Poyson. *Calippus* did not long continue to scandalize Fortune, and upbraid the Gods with his Prosperity, who seem'd to wink at, and bear with that wretched man, while he purchased Riches and Power by the most heinous and enormous Impieties, but he quickly receiv'd the Punishment he deserv'd; for going to take *Catana* he lost *Syracuse*; whereupon they report he said, He had lost a City, and got a Bauble. Then attempting *Messene*, he had most of his Men cut off, and among the rest, *Dion's* Murtherers. When no City in *Sicily* would admit him, but all hated and abhorred him, he went into *Italy*

and took *Rhegium*; there being necessitous, and not able to maintain his Souldiers, he was kill'd by *Lepidus* and *Polyperchon*, and (as Fortune would have it) with the same Sword that *Dion* was Murther'd, which was known by the size, being but short, as the *Spartan* Swords, and the Workman-ship of it very curious and Artificial. Thus *Calippus* receiv'd the Reward of his Villanies.

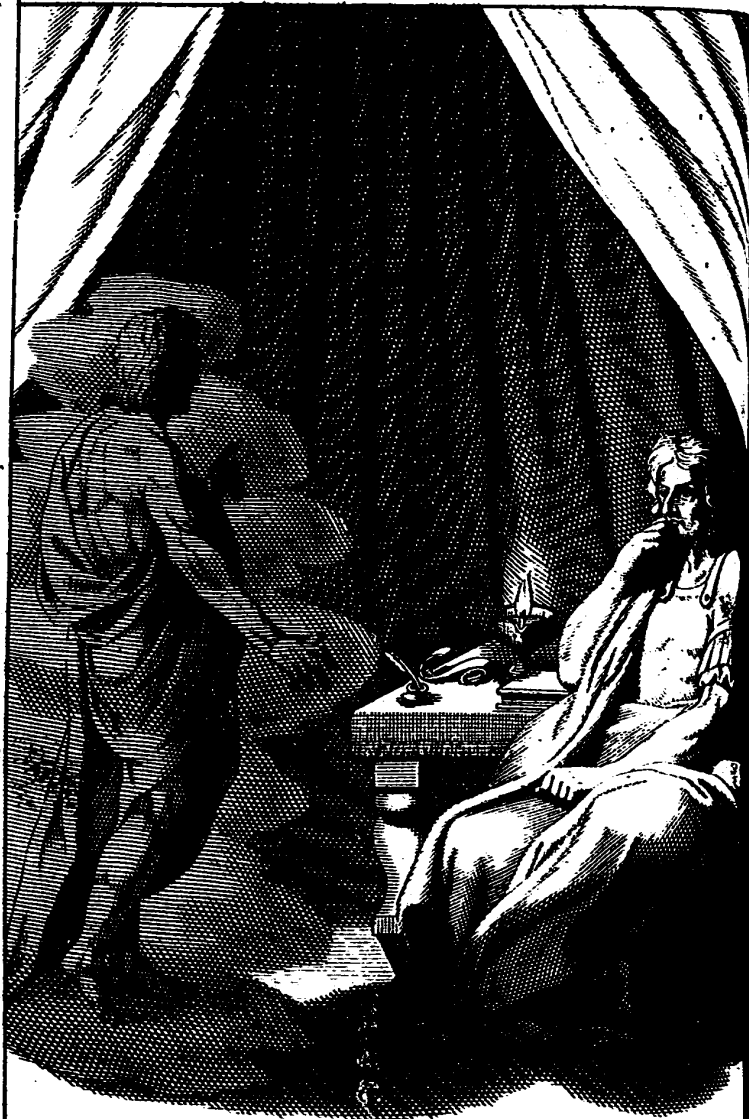
When *Aristomache* and *Arete* were releas'd out of Prison, *Ictes*, one of *Dion's* Friends, took them to his House, and for a while entertain'd them well, and like a faithful Friend; afterwards, being perswaded by *Dion's* Enemies, he provided a Ship, and pretended to send them into *Peloponnesus*, but commanded the Sailors, when they came out to Sea, to kill them, and throw them over board. Others say, that they and the little Boy were thrown alive into the Sea. This Man also escaped not the due recompence of his wickedness, for he was taken by *Timoleon*, and put to Death; and the *Syracusians*, to revenge *Dion*, slew his two Daughters; of which I have Discours'd more particularly in the Life of *Timoleon*.

Kill'd at *Rhegium*.

Dion's Sister,
Wife, and Son
drown'd.

THE

BRUTUS.



Murghers sculp.

THE
L I F E
O F
MARCUS BRUTUS.

Translated by Mr. Duke.

Marcus Brutus was descended from that Junius Brutus, to whom the ancient Romans erected a Statue of Brass in the Capitol, among the Images of their Kings, with a drawn Sword in his Hand, in remembrance of his Courage and Resolution in expelling the Tarquins, and destroying the Monarchy. That ancient Brutus was of a severe

O o

and

and inflexible Nature, (like Steel of too hard a Temper) and not at all soften'd by Study or Education ; nay , he suffer'd himself to be so far transported with his Rage and Hatred against Tyrants, that for conspiring with them, he proceeded to the Execution even of his own Sons. But this *Brutus* , whose Life we now write, having to the goodness of his Disposition added the Improvements of Learning, and study of Philosophy, and having stirr'd up his natural Parts, of themselves grave and gentle, by applying himself to Business and publick Affairs, seems to have been of a Temper exactly fram'd for Virtue ; insomuch that they who were most his Enemies, upon the account of his Conspiracy against *Cæsar*, if in that whole Affair there was any honourable or generous Action done, refer it wholly to *Brutus*, and lay whatever was barbarous and cruel to the charge of *Cassius*, *Brutus's* most intimate and familiar Friend, but not at all like him in Honesty and Virtue. His Mother *Servilia* was of the Family of *Servilius Hala*, who when *Spurius Manlius* had work'd the People into a Rebellion, and design'd to have made himself King, taking a Dagger under his Arm, went forth into the Market-place and upon pretence of having some private Bu-

Bu-

Business with him, came up close to him, and as he bent his Head to hear what he had to say, struck him with his Dagger, and slew him. And thus much, as concerns his Descent by the Mothers side, is confess'd by all ; but as for his Father's Family, they who for *Cæsar's* Murther bore any Hatred or Ill-will to *Brutus*, say, that he came not from that *Brutus* who expell'd the *Tarquins*, there being none of his Race left, after the Execution of his two Sons ; but that he was a *Plebeian*, descended from one *Brutus*, some Nobleman's Steward, of a mean Family, that but very lately was rais'd to any Office or Dignity in the Commonwealth. But *Po-
sidonius* the Philosopher writes, that it is true indeed what the History relates, that two of the Sons of *Brutus*, who were of mens Estate, were put to Death, but that a third, yet an Infant, was left alive, from whom the Family was propagated down to *Marcus Brutus* ; and further, that there were several famous Persons of this House in his Time, and of his own Acquaintance, whose Looks very much resembled the Statue of *Junius Brutus*. But of this Subject enough.

Cato the Philosopher was Brother to *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*, and he it was whom of all the *Romans* his Nephew

most admir'd, and study'd to imitate, and afterwards marry'd his Daughter *Porcia*. But of all the Sects of the *Greek* Philosophers, tho' there was none of which he had not been a Hearer, and in which he had not made some proficiency, yet he chiefly esteem'd the *Platonists*, and not at all approving of the modern and the middle Academy, (as it was call'd) apply'd himself wholly to the study of the Ancient. He was all his Life time a great Admirer of *Antiochus*, of the City of *Ascalon*, and took his Brother *Ariston* into his own House for his Friend and Companion, a Man for his Learning inferior indeed to many of the Philosophers, but for the evenness of his Temper, and sweetness of Conversation, equal to the best. As for *Empylus*, of whom he himself and his Friends make often mention in their Epistles, as of one that constantly liv'd with *Brutus*, he was an Orator, and has left behind him a short but well penn'd History of the Death of *Cæsar*, entitled *Brutus*.

In *Latin* he was a good Speaker, and had by constant exercise attain'd a sufficient Excellency in making publick Orations, and pleading Causes: But in *Greek* he was remarkable for affecting the sententious and short *Laconick* way of Speaking;

ing; In his Epistles especially, as when in the beginning of the War he writ thus to the *Pergamenians*: *I hear ye have given Dolabella Money; if you gave it willingly, ye must own ye have injur'd me; if unwillingly, shew it, by giving willingly to me.* And another time to the *Samians*: *Your Councils are careles, your Actions slow; what think ye will be the end?* And of the *Patareans* thus: *The Xanthians suspecting my Kindness, have made their Countrey a Grave of Despair; The Patareans trusting themselves to me, have lost nothing of their former Liberty; It is in your power to choose the Judgment of the Patareans, or the Fortune of the Xanthians.* And this is the Style wherein his most remarkable Letters were usually writ.

When he was but a very young Man, he accompanied his Uncle *Cato* to *Cyprus*, who was sent with an Army against *Ptolemy*, King of *Egypt*. But as soon as *Ptolemy* had kill'd himself, *Cato* being by some necessary Business detain'd in the Isle of *Rhodes*, sent one of his Friends nam'd *Caninius*, to take into his care and keeping the Treasure of the King; but afterwards suspecting his Fidelity, he writ to *Brutus* to sail immediately to *Cyprus* out of *Pamphylia*, where he then stay'd to refresh himself, being but new-

ly recover'd of a Fit of Sickness. He obey'd his Orders, but with a great deal of unwillingness, as well out of Respect to *Caninius*, that was thrown out of this Employment by *Cato* with so much Disgrace; as also because he esteem'd such a Commission too mean for a Gentleman, and not at all becoming him that was in the prime of his Youth, and given to Books and Learning. Nevertheless, applying himself to this Business, he behav'd himself so well in it, that he was highly commended by *Cato*, and having turn'd all the Goods of *Ptolomy* into ready Money, brought the greatest part of it in his own Ship to *Rome*.

Upon the Division of the Empire into two Factions, when *Pompey* and *Cæsar* taking up Arms against one another, the whole Government was turn'd into Confusion, it was generally believ'd that he would have taken *Cæsar's* side; for his Father not long before had been put to Death by *Pompey*. But he thinking it his duty to prefer the Interest of the Publick before his own private Resentments, and judging *Pompey's* to be the better Cause, took part with him; tho' formerly he us'd not so much as to salute or take any notice of *Pompey*, if he happen'd to meet him, esteeming it a great crime to have

have the least Conversation with the Murderer of his Father. But now looking upon him as the General of his Country, he list'd himself under his Command, and set Sail for *Sicily*, in quality of Lieutenant to *Sestius*, who had the Government of that Island. But finding no opportunity there of shewing himself in any great Action, and hearing that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* were encamp'd near one another, and were preparing to begin the Battel, upon which the whole Empire depended, he came of his own accord to *Macedonia* to partake in the Danger. At his coming, it is said, that *Pompey* was so surpriz'd, and so pleas'd, that rising from his Chair, in the sight of all his Guards, he saluted and embrac'd him, as one of the chiefest of his Party. All the time that he was in the Camp, excepting that which he spent in *Pompey's* Company, he employ'd in Reading and in Study, which he did not neglect even the day before the great Battel of *Pharsalia*. It was the middle of Summer, and the Heat was very great, and the Camp sustain'd many Inconveniencies, by being lodged in a marshy Ground, and they that carry'd *Brutus* his Tent, had stay'd a long while before they came. Yet tho' upon all these Accounts he was extremely

haras'd, and out of order, having at last in the middle of the day scarcely anointed himself, and eaten very sparingly, whilst most others were either laid to sleep, or were wholly taken up with the thoughts and apprehensions of what would be the issue of the Fight, he spent his whole time till the Evening in writing an Epitome of *Polybius*. It is said, that *Cæsar* had so great a Regard for him, that he order'd his Commanders by no means to kill *Brutus* in the Battel, but to spare him, if possible, and bring him safe to him, if he would willingly surrender himself; but if he made any Resistance, to suffer him to escape, rather than do him any Violence. And this he is believ'd to have done out of a Tenderneſs to *Servilia*, the Mother of *Brutus*; for *Cæsar* had, it ſeems, in his Youth, been very intimate with her, and ſhe paſſionately in Love with him: And conſidering that *Brutus* was born about that time, in which their Loves were at the higheſt, *Cæsar* had ſome Reason to believe that he was begot by him. There goes a Report too, that when ſome great and weighty Matters, concerning the Conſpiracy of *Catiline*, which had like to have been the Deſtruction of the Commonwealth, were debated in the Senate; *Cato* and *Cæsar*, tho' dif-

ſſering in their Opinions, were placed near to one another: In the middle of the Debate a little Note was deliver'd to *Cæsar* from without, which he took and read ſilently to himſelf. Upon this *Cato* cry'd out aloud, and accus'd *Cæsar* for holding Correſpondence, and receiving Letters from the Enemies of the Commonwealth: Many of the Senators being much concern'd, and the Houſe in an Uproar, *Cæsar* deliver'd the Note, as he had receiv'd it, to *Cato*, who reading it, found it to be a lewd Letter from his own Siſter *Servilia*, and threw it back again in Rage to *Cæsar*, with theſe words, *Keep it to your ſelf, you Sot*. And the Senate that had been interrupted, fell aſreſh to the Buſineſs that was before them; ſo publick and notorious was *Servilia's* Love to *Cæsar*.

After the great Overthrow at *Pharſalia*, *Pompey* himſelf having made his Escape to the Sea, and *Cæsar's* Army ſtorming the Camp, *Brutus* ſtole privately out of one of the Gates, to a marſhy Place full of Water, and cover'd with Reeds, from whence ventring out in the Night, he got ſafe to *Lariſſa*. From *Lariſſa* he writ to *Cæsar*, who expreſs'd a great deal of Joy to hear that he was ſafe, and having ſent for him, not only forgave him freely, but honour'd and eſteem'd him

him equal, at least to his chiefest Friends. Now when no body could give any certain Account which way *Pompey* had fled, *Cæsar* took a little Journey alone with *Brutus*, to try what was his Opinion herein, and believing by some Discourses which pass'd between them, that he could give a good guess which way *Pompey* had taken in his Flight, laying aside all other thoughts, he fell directly to pursue him towards *Ægypt*. But *Pompey* having reach'd *Ægypt*, as *Brutus* guess'd his Design was to do, was there barbarously murder'd.

Brutus had so much power with *Cæsar*, that he pacify'd and reconcil'd him to his Friend *Cassius*; nay, when he pleaded in defence of the King of the *Lybians*, tho' he was overwhelm'd with the greatness of the Crimes alledg'd against him, yet by his Entreaties and Applications to *Cæsar* in his behalf, he preserv'd to him a great part of his Kingdom. It is reported, that *Cæsar* when he first heard *Brutus* speak in publick, said to his Friends, *I know not what this young man intends, but whatever he intends, he intends vehemently.* For his natural firmness of Mind, not easily yielding or complying in favour of every one that entreated him, when it was set on work by the Motives of right Reason,

son, and the Principles of Honesty, which way soever it turn'd it self, mov'd with great Vigour and Impetuosity, and generally effected its Designs. No Flattery could ever prevail with him to listen to unjust Petitions; and reckon'd that to be overcome by the Importunities of shameless and fawning Flatterers, tho' some complement it with the Name of Modesty and Bashfulness, was the foulest disgrace a great Man could suffer. And he us'd to say, *That he shrewdly suspected that they who could deny nothing, had not very honestly employ'd the flower of their Youth.*

Cæsar being about to take an Expedition into *Africa* against *Cato* and *Scipio*, committed to *Brutus* the Government of *Gallia Cisalpine*, to the great Happiness and Advantage of that Province. For while those of other Provinces labour'd under the Violence and Avarice of their Governours, and suffer'd as much Oppression, as if they had been Slaves and Captives of War, *Brutus* put an end to all such Insolencies here, and by his easie Government made them amends for all their former Calamities, and reconcil'd and fix'd all their Affections to *Cæsar*; insomuch that it was a most welcom and pleasant Spectacle to *Cæsar*, when in his Return he pass'd through *Italy*, to see the Ci-

Cities that were under *Brutus* his Command, and *Brutus* himself increasing his Train and Honour, and most obligingly attending him in his Progress.

Now several *Prætorships* being void, it was all mens opinion, that that of the chiefest Dignity, which is call'd the *Prætorship* of the City, would be conferr'd either upon *Brutus* or *Cassius*; and some say, that there having been some little difference upon former Accounts between them, this Competition set them much more at variance, tho' they were related to each other, *Cassius* having married *Junia*, the Sister of *Brutus*. Others say, that this Contention was rais'd between them by *Cæsar's* means, who had privately given each of them such Hopes of his favouring their Pretensions, as made them break out into this open Competition and Tryal of their Interests. *Brutus* had only the Reputation of his Honour and Virtue, to oppose to the many and gallant Actions perform'd by *Cassius* in his Youth against the *Parthians*. But *Cæsar* having heard each side, and deliberating about the Matter among his Friends, said, *Cassius indeed pleads with most Justice, but Brutus must have the first Prætorship*. So another *Prætorship* was given to *Cassius*; but the gaining of this could not so much ob-

oblige him, as he was incens'd for the loss of the other. And in all other things *Brutus* was partaker of *Cæsar's* Power as much as he desir'd; for he might, if he had pleas'd, been the chief of all his Friends, and had Authority and Command beyond them all, but *Cassius* by his Conversation drew him off from *Cæsar*, and turn'd him to himself. Indeed he was not yet wholly reconcil'd to *Cassius*, since that Competition which was between them; but yet he gave ear to *Cassius* his Friends, who were perpetually advising him not to be so blind, as to suffer himself to be soften'd and won upon by *Cæsar*, but to shun the Kindness and Favours of a Tyrant, which, they intimated, that *Cæsar* shew'd him, not to express any Honour to his Merit or Virtue, but to unbend his Strength, and slacken the vigour of his Mind. Neither was *Cæsar* wholly without suspicion of him, nor wanted Informers that accus'd *Brutus* to him; but he fear'd indeed the high Spirit, and the great Authority, and the many Friends that he had, but thought himself secure in his Honesty and Virtue. When it was told him first that *Antony* and *Dolabella* design'd some Disturbance, *It is not*, said he, *the fat and the long-hair'd men that I fear, but the pale*
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and the lean, meaning Brutus and Cassius. Afterwards when some accus'd Brutus to him, and advis'd him to beware of him, taking hold of his Flesh with his Hand, he said, *What? do ye think that Brutus will not wait out the time of this little Body?* as if he thought none fit to succeed him in so great Power but only Brutus. And indeed it seems to be without doubt, that Brutus might have been the first Man in the Commonwealth, if he could have had patience but a little time to be second to Caesar; if he would have suffer'd his Power insensibly to decay after it was come to its highest pitch, and the fame of his great Actions to die and wither away by degrees. But Cassius, a Man of a fierce Disposition, and one that out of private Malice, rather than Love of the Publick, hated Caesar, not the Tyrant, continually fir'd him and stirr'd him up. Brutus could not endure the Imperial Power, but Cassius hated the Emperour: and among other Reasons on which he grounded his Quarrel against Caesar, the loss of his Lions, which he had procur'd when he was design'd *Edile*, was not the least; for these Caesar finding in *Megara*, when that City was taken by Calenus, seized to himself. (These Beasts, they say, were a great mischief to the *Megari-*

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ans; for when their City was taking, they broke open the Lions Dens, and pull'd off their Chains, and let them loose, that they might run upon the Enemy that was entering the City; but the Lions turn'd upon them themselves, and running wildly about, tore a great many of them to pieces, so that it was a miserable spectacle even to their enemies to behold.) And this, some say, was the chief provocation that stirr'd up Cassius to conspire against Caesar; but they are much in the wrong: for Cassius had from his Youth a natural Hatred and Rancour against the whole race of Tyrants, which he shew'd when he was but a Boy, and went to the same School with Faustus, the Son of Sylla; for he speaking great words among the Boys, & extolling the unlimited command of his Father Sylla, Cassius rose up, and struck him two or three Boxes on the Ear: which when the Tutors and Relations of Faustus design'd to enquire into, and to prosecute, Pompey forbid them, and sending for both the Boys together, examin'd the Matter himself. And Cassius then is reported to have said thus, *Come on, Faustus, dare to speak before this man those words that provok'd me, that I may strike you again as I did before.* Such was the Disposition of Cassius.

But

But *Brutus* by many Persuasions of his familiar Friends, and many Letters from unknown Citizens, was rous'd up and push'd on to this Undertaking. For under the Statue of his Ancestor *Brutus*, that overthrew the Kingly Government, they writ these words, *O that we had a Brutus now ! And O that Brutus were alive !* And *Brutus* his own Tribunal, on which he sat as *Prætor*, was fill'd each Morning with such Inscriptions as these, *You are asleep Brutus ; And, You are not a true Brutus.* Now the Flatterers of *Cæsar* were the occasion of all this, who among other invidious Honours which they strove to fasten upon *Cæsar*, crown'd his Statues by night with an Imperial Crown, with a design to stir up the People to salute him *King* instead of *Dictator*. But the quite contrary came to pass, as I have more particularly shewn in the Life of *Cæsar*.

When *Cassius* went about soliciting Friends to engage in this Design against *Cæsar*, all whom he try'd, readily consented, if *Brutus* would be Head of the Conspiracy ; for their opinion was, that for this Enterprize they wanted not Hands or Resolution, but the Reputation and Authority of a Man, such as he was, to lead them on, and by his presence

justify the Undertaking : that without him they should go about this Action with less heart, and should lye under greater Suspensions when they had done it ; for if their Cause were just and honourable, they were sure *Brutus* would not refuse it.

Cassius having consider'd these things with himself, went to *Brutus*, and made him the first Visit after their falling out ; and after the Complements of Reconciliation pass'd, and former Kindnesses renew'd between them, he ask'd him, if he design'd to be present at the Senate on the Calends of *March*, for it was discuss'd, he said, that *Cæsar's* Friends intended then to move that he might be made *King*. When *Brutus* answer'd, that he would not be there. But what, says *Cassius*, if they should send for us ? It is my Business then, reply'd *Brutus*, not to hold my peace, but to stand up boldly, and die for the Liberty of my Countrey. To which *Cassius* with some Concern answer'd, But what Roman will suffer you to die ? What, do you not know your self, *Brutus* ? Or do you think that those Inscriptions that you find upon your *Prætors* Seat, were set there by Weavers, Victuallers, or the vile Rabble, and not by the first and most powerful Men of Rome ? From other *Præ-*

tors indeed they expect Largeſſes, and Shows, and Gladiators, but from you they claim, as an hereditary Debt, the extirpation of Tyranny; they are all ready to ſuffer any thing on your account, if you will but ſhew your ſelf ſuch as they think you are, and expect you ſhould be. Which ſaid, he fell upon Brutus, and embrac'd him, and after this they parted, each to try their ſeveral Friends.

Among thoſe of Pompey's Faction, there was one *Caius Ligarius*, whom *Caſar* had pardon'd, tho' accus'd for having been in Arms againſt him. This Man, not being ſo thankful for having been forgiven, and ſtomaching that Power which made him need a Pardon, hated *Caſar*, but was one of Brutus his moſt intimate Friends. Him Brutus viſited, and finding him ſick, *Ligarius*, ſays he, *what a time have you found out to be ſick in?* At which words *Ligarius* raiſing himſelf, and leaning on his Elbow, took Brutus by the Hand, and ſaid, But, O Brutus, if you are on any Diſſign worthy of your ſelf, I am well. From this time they try'd the Inclinations of all their Acquaintance that they durſt truſt, and communicated the Secret to them, and took alſo into the Conſpiracy not only their familiar Friends, but as many as they believ'd bold and brave, and deſpise

of Death. For which Reason they conceal'd the Plot from *Cicero*, tho' he was very much truſted, and as well belov'd by them all, left to his own Diſpoſition, which was naturally timorous, adding the warineſs and caution of old Age, and weighing every Particular, that he might not make one ſtep without the greateſt ſecurity, he ſhould blunt the edge of their forwardneſs and reſolution, in a Buſineſs which requir'd all the diſpatch imaginable.

There were alſo two others that were Companions of Brutus; *Statilius* the Epicurean, and *Favonius*, a Follower of *Cato*, whom he left out of the Conſpiracy for this Reason: As he was diſcourſing one day with them at a diſtance, and propoſing ſome Queſtions to be diſputed of, as among Philoſophers, to try what opinion they were of, *Favonius* declar'd his Judgment to be, that a Civil War was worſe than the moſt unjuſt Tyranny: And *Statilius* held, that to bring himſelf into Troubles and Danger, upon the account of evil or fooliſh men, did not become a man that had any Wiſdom or Diſcretion. But *Labeo*, that was preſent, contradicted them both; and Brutus, as if it had been an intricate Diſpute, and difficult to be decided, held his peace for

that time ; but afterwards discover'd the whole Design to *Labeo*, who readily undertaking it , the next thing that was thought convenient , was to gain the other *Brutus*, surnam'd *Albinus*, a man of himself of no great Bravery or Courage, but considerable for the number of Gladiators that he bred up for the publick Shews, and the great confidence that *Cæsar* put in him. When *Cassius* and *Labeo* discours'd with him concerning this Matter, he gave them no Answer ; but meeting *Brutus* himself alone , and finding that he was their Captain , he readily consented to partake in the Action, and the very Name of *Brutus* brought many others , and those of the best Quality, over to the Conspirators : who tho' they neither gave or took any Oath of Secrecy, nor us'd any other sacred Rite, to assure their Fidelity to each other, yet all kept their Design so close, were so wary, and manag'd it so silently among themselves, that tho' by Prophecies, and by wonderful Apparitions and Prodigies, and by the Entrails of sacrific'd Beasts, the Gods gave warning of the Conspiracy, yet could it not be believ'd.

Now *Brutus* considering that the greatest Men of all *Rome* for Virtue, Birth or Courage, depended wholly upon him, and

and surveying with himself all the Dangers they were to encounter, strove as much as possible, when abroad, to keep his uneasiness of Mind to himself, and compose his unquiet Thoughts ; but at home, and especially at Night, he was not the same Man , but sometimes his working Care would make him start out of his Sleep, and other times he was so taken up with Thoughts, and so perplex'd in his Mind, that his Wife that lay with him could not choose but take notice that he was full of unusual Trouble, and had in agitation some dangerous and difficult Affair. *Porcia*, as was before said, was the Daughter of *Cato* ; and *Brutus*, tho her Cousin-german, had marry'd her very young, tho' not a Maid, but after the Death of her former Husband, by whom she had one Son that was nam'd *Bibulus* ; and there is a little Book call'd, *The Memoirs of Brutus*, written by him, yet extant. This *Porcia* being addicted to Philosophy, a great lover of her Husband, and full of Courage and Prudence, resolv'd not to enquire into *Brutus* his Secrets, before she had made this tryal of her self : She turn'd all her Attendants out of her Chamber, and taking a little Knife, such as they use to cut Nails with, she gave her self a deep gash in the

Thigh, upon which follow'd a great Flux of Bloud, and soon after violent pains, and a dangerous Fever, occasion'd by the anguish of the Wound. Now when *Brutus* was mightily afflicted for her, she in the height of all her pain spoke thus to him : *I, Brutus, being the Daughter of Cato, was given to you in Marriage, not like a Concubine, to partake only in the common Civilities of Bed and Board, but to bear a part in all your good and all your evil Fortunes : and for my part, when I look upon you, I find no Reason to repent the Match ; but from me, what evidence of my Love, what satisfaction can you receive, if I may not share with you in bearing your most hidden Grievs, nor be admitted to any of your Counsels that require Secrecy and Trust ? I know very well that Women seem to be of too weak a Nature to be trusted with Secrets ; but certainly, Brutus, a virtuous Birth and Education, and a Conversation with the Good and Honourable, are of some force to the forming our Manners, and strengthening our natural Weakness. And I can boast, that I am the Daughter of Cato, and the Wife of Brutus ; in which two great Titles, tho' before I put too little confidence, yet now I have try'd my self, and find, that even against Grief and Pain it self I am invincible.* Which words having spoke, she she'wd him

him her Wound, and related to him the whole tryal that she had made of her own Constancy : At which he being astonish'd, lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and begg'd the Assistance of the Gods in his Enterprize, that he might live to be a Husband worthy of such a Wife as *Porcia*. So having comforted his Wife, he left her.

A Meeting of the Senate being appointed, at which it was generally believ'd that *Cæsar* would be present, the Conspirators agreed to make use of that Opportunity : For then they might appear all together without suspicion ; and besides they had hopes that all the noblest and leading Men of the Commonwealth, that would be then assembled, as soon as the great Deed was done, would immediately appear for them, and assert the common Liberty. The very Place too where the Senate was to meet, seem'd to be, by divine Appointment, favourable to their purpose : it was a Porch, that had one Nich towards the Theater, in which there stood a Statue of *Pompey*, erected to him by the Commonwealth, when it adorn'd that part of the City with the Portico's and the Theater. To this Place it was that the Senate was call'd on the Ides of *March* ; so that some God

seem'd to bring *Cæsar* thither, to revenge upon him the Death of *Pompey*.

As soon as it was day, *Brutus* taking with him a Dagger, which none but his Wife knew of, went abroad : the rest met together at *Cassius* his House, and brought forth his Son, that was that day to put on the *Manly Gown*, as it was call'd, into the *Forum* ; and from thence going all to *Pompey's* Porch, stay'd there, and expected the coming of *Cæsar* to the Senate. Here it was chiefly that any one who had known what they had purpos'd, would have admir'd the unconcern'd Temper, and the steady Resolution of these men, in the most dangerous Undertaking : for many of them being *Pretors*, and by their Office oblig'd to judge and determine Causes, did not only hear calmly all that made any Application to them, or had any Suits depending before them, as if they were free from all other Thoughts, but decided Causes with as much Accuracy and Judgment, as they had heard them with attention and patience. And when one Person refus'd to stand to the Award of *Brutus*, and with great Clamour and many Attestations appeal'd to *Cæsar*, *Brutus* looking round about him upon those that were present, said, *Cæsar does not hinder me, nor shall he*
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hinder me from doing according to the Laws. Yet there were many unusual Accidents that disturb'd them, and by meer chance were thrown in their way : The first and chiefest was, The long stay of *Cæsar*, tho' the day was far spent, and his being detain'd at home by his Wife, and forbidden by the Soothsayers to go forth, upon some Defect that appear'd in his Sacrifice. Another was this, There came a Man up to *Casca*, one of the Conspirators, and taking him by the Hand, *You conceal'd, said he, the Secret from us, but Brutus has told me all.* At which words when *Casca* was surpriz'd, the other said laughing, *How come you to be so rich of a sudden, that you should stand to be chosen Ædile ?* So near was *Casca* to have discover'd the Secret, being deceiv'd by the Ambiguity of the others Discourse. Then *Popilius Lena*, a Senator, having saluted *Brutus* and *Casca* very obligingly, whisper'd them softly in the Ear, and said, *My Wishes are with you, that you may accomplish what you design, and I advise you to make no delay, for the thing is now no Secret.* This said, he parted, and left them in a great Consternation, suspecting that the Design had taken Vent. In the mean while there came one in all haste from *Brutus* his House, and brought him News that his Wife

Wife was dead : for *Porcia* being extremely disturb'd with expectation of the Event, and not able to bear the greatness of her Cares, could scarce keep her self within Doors ; and at every little Noise or Voice she heard, leaping forth, and starting suddenly, like one of the mad Priestesses of *Bacchus*, ask'd every one that came from the *Forum*, What *Brutus* was doing ? and continually sent one Messenger after another to enquire. At last, after long Expectation, the strength of her Body could hold out no longer, but overcome with her Doubts and Fears, she fainted away. She had not time to betake her self to her Chamber ; for as she was sitting amongst her Women, a sudden want of Spirits, and a great Stupidness seiz'd her, and her Colour chang'd, and her Speech was quite lost. At this sight her Women made a great and lamentable Outcry, and many of the Neighbours running to *Brutus* his House, to know what was the matter, the Report was soon spread abroad that *Porcia* was dead ; tho' she recover'd in a little while, and came to her self again. When *Brutus* receiv'd this News, he was extremely troubled, nor without Reason, yet was not so carry'd away by his private Grief, as to neglect the publick Concern : for

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now News was brought that *Cæsar* was coming, carry'd in a Sedan ; for being discouraged by the ill Omens that attended his Sacrifice, he had determin'd to undertake no Affairs of any great Importance that day, but to defer them till another time, pretending that he was sick. As soon as he came out of his Sedan, *Pomilius Lena*, he who but a little before had wish'd *Brutus* good Success in his Undertaking, coming up to him, discours'd a great while with him, *Cæsar* standing still all the while, and seeming to be very attentive. The Conspirators not being able to hear what he said, but guessing, by what themselves were conscious of, that this Conference was the discovery of their Treason, were strangely dejected, and looking upon one another, agreed from each others Countenances, that they should not stay to be taken, but should all kill themselves. And now when *Cassius* and some others were laying hands upon their Daggers under their Robes, and were drawing them out, *Brutus* viewing narrowly the Looks and Gesture of *Lena*, and finding that he was earnestly petitioning, and not accusing, said nothing, because there were many Strangers to the Conspiracy mingled amongst them, but with a cheerful Coun-

Countenance encourag'd *Cassius*. And after a little while, *Lena* having kiss'd *Cæsar's* Hand, went away, shewing plainly, that all his Discourse was about some particular Business relating to himself.

Now when the Senate was gone in before to the Place where they were to sit, some of the Conspirators got close to *Cæsar's* Chair, pretending they had some Suit to make to him, and *Cassius* turning his Face to *Pompey's* Statue, is said to have invoc'd it, as if it had been sensible of his Prayers; *Trebonius* in the mean while drew *Antony* towards the Door, and kept him in Talk without the Court. *Cæsar* now enter'd, and the whole Senate rose up to him: As soon as he was set down, they all seemingly very officious crowded round about him, and set *Tullius Cimber*, one of their own Number, to intercede in behalf of his Brother that was banish'd; they all joyn'd their Prayers with his, and took *Cæsar* by the Hand, and kiss'd his Head and his Breast. But he rejecting at first their Supplications, and afterwards, when he saw they would not desist, violently rising up, *Tullius* with both Hands catch'd hold of his Robe, and pull'd it off from his Shoulders, and *Casca* that stood behind him, drawing

his Dagger, gave him the first, but a slight Wound, about the Shoulder. *Cæsar* presently snatching hold of the Handle of the Dagger, and crying out aloud in Latin, *Villain Casca, what dost thou?* He in Greek calling to his Brother, bad him come and help. Now being wounded by a great many Hands, and looking round about him to see if there was any way to escape, as soon as ever he spy'd *Brutus* with his Dagger drawn against him, he let go *Casca's* Hand, that he had hold on, and covering his Head with his Robe, gave up his Body to the barbarous Murderers. They so eagerly press'd towards the Body, and so many Daggers were hacking it together, that the Conspirators cut one another; *Brutus* particularly receiv'd a Wound in his Hand, and all of them were besmear'd with Bloud.

Cæsar being thus slain, *Brutus* stepping forth into the middle of the Senate-house, intended to have made a Speech, and call'd back, and encourag'd the Senators to stay; but they all frightened, ran away in great Disorder, and there was a great Confusion and Press of People about the Gate,

Gate, tho' none pursu'd or follow'd; for they had firmly resolv'd to kill no Body besides *Cæsar*, but to call and invite all the rest to Liberty. It was indeed the Opinion of all the others, when they consulted about the Execution of their design, that it was necessary to cut off *Antony* with *Cæsar*, looking upon him as an Insolent Man, an affecter of Monarchy, and one that had gain'd a Powerful Interest by his conversation and acquaintance in the Army. And this they urg'd the rather, because at that time, to the natural Ambition and Haughtiness of his Temper, there was added the Dignity of being Consul and Collegue to *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* oppos'd this Counsel, insisting first upon the Injustice of it, and afterwards giving them hopes that a great change might be worked in *Antony*. For he did not despair, but that *Cæsar* being taken off, so honourable a Man and such a Lover of Glory as *Antony*, stir'd up with Emulation of their great Attempt, would lay hold of this occasion to be a joynt restorer with them, of the Liberty of his Country. Thus did *Brutus* save *Antony's* life, but in the general consternation put himself into a *Plebeian* habit and fled. But *Brutus* and his Party betook themselves to the Capitol, and in their

their way shewing their hands all bloody, and their naked Swords, and proclaiming Liberty to the People. At the first all Places were fill'd with Lamentation, and the wild running too and fro occasion'd by the sudden surprise and passion that every one was in, made a great Tumult in the City. But no other Murder following, and no Man being spoiled of his Goods, the Senators and many of the People took courage and went up to the Conspirators in the Capitol: And a multitude being gathered together, *Brutus* made an Oration to them very Popular, and proper for the State that affairs were then in. Therefore when they applauded his speech, and cri'd out to him to come down, they all took confidence and descended into the Forum; the rest were promiscuously mingled with one another; but many of the most eminent quality attending *Brutus*, conducted him between them with great splendor from the Capitol, and placed him in the *Rostrum*. At the sight of *Brutus* the Rabble, though consisting of a confused mixture, and all disposed to make a Tumult, were struck with reverence and expected what he wou'd say, with order and with silence: and when he began to speak, heard him with all imaginable quiet and attention.

attention. But that all were not pleased with this action, they plainly show'd when *Cinna* beginning to speak, and accuse *Cæsar*, they broke out into a sudden rage, and rail'd at him in such opprobrious Language, that the Conspirators thought fit again to withdraw to the *Capitol*. And there *Brutus* expecting to be besieg'd, dismiss the most Eminent of those that had accompanied them thither, not thinking it just that they who were not partakers of the fact should share in the danger. But the next day the Senate being assembled in the Temple of *Tellus*, and *Antony* and *Plancus* and *Cicero*, having made Orations to move the People to forget what was past, and to be mutually reconcil'd, it was decreed, that the Conspirators shou'd not only be put out of all fear or danger, but that the *Consuls* shou'd take care of what Honours, and Dignities were proper to be confer'd upon them. After which done, the Senate broke up; and *Antony* having sent his Son as an Hostage to the *Capitol*, *Brutus* and his Company came down, and mutual Salutes, and Invitations past between them and the whole Company that were gather'd together: *Antony* invited and entertain'd *Cassius*, *Lepidus* did the same to *Brutus*, and the rest were invited and treated by others, as each of them had either acquaintance or friends, among the People.

As soon as it was day, the Senate order'd thanks to *Antony*, for having stilled the beginning of a Civil War: afterwards *Brutus* and his Associates that were present, receiv'd the thanks of the Senate, and had Provinces assign'd, and distributed among them. *Crete* was allotted to *Brutus*, *Africa* to *Cassius*, *Asia* to *Tiberonius*, *Bithynia* to *Clodius*, and to the other *Brutus*, that part of *Gallia*, that lay about the River *Po*. After these things, they began to consider of *Cæsar's* Will, and the ordering of his Funeral; *Antony* desir'd that the Will might be read, and that the Body should not have a private or dishonourable Interment, least that should further exasperate the People: This *Cassius* violently oppos'd, but *Brutus* yeilded to it, and gave leave; in which he seems to have a second time miscarry'd: For as before in sparing the Life of *Antony*, he could not be without some blame from his Party, in setting up a violent Enemy against the Conspiracy; so now in suffering him to have the ordering of the Funeral, he fell into a total and irrecoverable Error. For first, it appearing by the Will, that *Cæsar*

ſar had bequeath'd to the *Roman* People three hundred *ſeſterces* a Man, and given to the Publick his Gardens beyond *Tyber*, (where now the Temple of *Fortune* ſtands) the whole City was fir'd with a wonderful affection for him, and a paſſionate ſenſe of the loſs of him. And afterwards when the Body was brought forth into the *Forum*; *Antony*, as the cuſtom was, making a Funeral Oration in the Praise of *Cæſar*, and finding the multitude mov'd with his Speech, to ſtir them up yet farther to Compaſſion, unfolded the bloody Garment of *Cæſar*, ſhev'd them in how many places it was peirc'd, and expoſed to their view the number of his Wounds. Now there was nothing to be ſeen but Confuſion, ſome cri'd out to kill the Murderers, others (as was formerly done when *Clodius* was *Tribune* of the People) tore away the Benches and Tables out of the Shops round about, and heaping them all together, built a great Funeral Pile, and having put the Body of *Cæſar* upon it, ſet it on fire. The place wherein this was done, was ſurrounded with a great many Temples and other conſecrated houſes ſo that they ſeem'd to burn the Body in a kind of Sacred Solemnity: As ſoon as the fire flam'd out, the multitude flocking in ſome

ſome from one part, and ſome from another, ſnatched the brands that were halfe burnt out of the Pile, and ran about the City to fire the houſes of the Murderers of *Cæſar*. But they having before-hand well fortify'd themſelves eſcaped this danger.

There was a kind of a Poet, one *Cinna*, not at all concern'd in the guilt of the Conſpiracy, but on the contrary one of *Cæſar*'s friends: This man dreamt that he was invited to Supper by *Cæſar*, and that he deni'd to go, but that the Emperor entreated, and preſt him to it very earneſtly; and at laſt taking him by the hand led him into a very deep and dark place, whither he was forc'd againſt his will to follow, in great Conſternation and Amazement. After this Viſion he had a Fever the moſt part of the Night, nevertheless in the morning hearing that the body of *Cæſar* was to be carried forth to be Interr'd, he was aſhamed not to be preſent at the Solemnity; but came abroad, and mingled himſelf with the People that was thus ſtirr'd up, and enraged by the Speech of *Antony*. The multitude perceiving him, and taking him not for that *Cinna*, (who indeed he was) but for him that a little before in a Speech to the People had reproach'd,

and inveigh'd against *Cæsar*, fell upon him and tore him to peices. This action chiefly, and the alteration that *Antony* had wrought, so alarm'd *Brutus* and his Party, that for their safety they retir'd from the City: The first stay they made was at *Antium*, with a design to return again as soon as the fury of the People had spent it self and was abated; which they expected would soon and easily come to pass, in an unsettled Multitude, apt to be carried away with such sudden, and impetuous Passion, especially since they had the Senate so favourable to them: Which though it took no notice of those that had torn *Cinna* to peices, yet made a strict search, and apprehended in order to punishment those that had assaulted the houses of the Conspirators. By this time also the People began to be dissatisfied with *Antony*, who they perceiv'd, was setting up a kind of Monarchy for himself; they long'd for the return of *Brutus*, whose Presence they expected, and hop'd for at the Games, and Spectacles, which he, as *Prætor*, was to exhibit to the Publick. But he having intelligence that many of the old Soldiers that had bore Armes under *Cæsar*, by whom they had had Lands and Colonies given them, lay in wait for him,

and

and by small Parties at a time had stolen into the City, would not venture to come himself; however in his Absence, there were most magnificent and costly Shows exhibited to the People; for having bought up a great number of all sorts of wild Beasts, he gave positive order, that not any of them should be return'd or sav'd, but that all should be kill'd at the Publick Spectacles: He himself made a Journey to *Naples*, to procure a considerable number of *Comedians*; and hearing of one *Canutius*, that was very much cry'd up for his Acting upon the Stage, he writ to his friends, to use all their entreaties to bring him to *Rome* (for being a *Grecian*, he could not be compel'd;) he writ also to *Cicero*, begging him by no means to omit being present at the publick Shows.

This was the posture of affairs, when another sudden alteration was made upon *Octavius* his coming to *Rome*; he was Son to the Sister of *Cæsar*, who adopted him, and left him his Heir by his Will. At the time when the Murder was committed, he was following his Studies at *Apollonia*, where he stay'd expecting to meet *Cæsar*, in his expedition which he had design'd against the *Parthians*; but hearing of his Death he immediately came

to Rome, and to ingratiate himself with the People, taking upon himself the name of *Cæsar*, and punctually distributing among the Citizens the Money that was left them by the Will, he soon got the better of *Antony*; and by Money and Largeſſes, which he liberally diſperſed amongſt the Soldiers, gather'd together, and brought over to his Party, a great number of thoſe that had ſerv'd under *Cæſar*. *Cicero* himſelf, out of the hatred which he bore to *Antony*, ſided with *Octavius*; which *Brutus* took ſo ill, that he treated him very ſharply in his Letters, telling him, *That he perceiv'd Cicero could well enough endure a Tyrant, but was afraid that he who hated him ſhould be the Man; that in writing and ſpeaking ſo well of Octavius, he ſhew'd that his only aim was to enjoy an Eaſy, and a gentle Slavery: But our Forefathers (ſaid Brutus) could not brook even gentle Maſters. Further he added, That for his own part he had not as yet fully reſolved, whether he ſhould make War or Peace: But that as to one point he was fixed and ſettled, which was, never to be a Slave; that he wonder'd Cicero ſhould fear the danger of a Civil War, and not be much more afraid of a diſhonorable, and infamous Peace: That all he could hope for in deſtroying the Tyranny of*

Antony,

Antony, was to make Octavius the Tyrant. And this is the ſubſtance of Brutus his firſt Letters to Cicero.

The City being now divided into two Faſtions, ſome betaking themſelves to *Cæſar*, and others to *Antony*, the Soldiers ſelling themſelves, as it were, by publick Out cry, and going over to him that would give them moſt; *Brutus* began to deſpair of any good event of ſuch Proceedings, and reſolving to leave *Italy*, paſſed by land through *Leucania*, and came to *Elea* by the Sea-ſide. From hence it was thought convenient, that *Porcia* ſhould return to *Rome*; ſhe was overcome with grief to part from *Brutus*, but ſtrove as much as was poſſible to conceal it; but in ſpight of all her manly Reſolutions, a Picture which ſhe found there accidentally betray'd it. The ſtory of it was that parting of *Hector* from *Andromache*, when he went to engage the *Greeks*, giving his young Son *Aſtynax* into her Arms, and ſhe fixing her Eyes upon him, with an earneſt, and affectionate look. As ſoon as ſhe eſpi'd this Piece, the Reſemblance it bore to her own concern, made her burſt out into Tears, and ſeveral times a day ſhe walkt where that Picture hung to gaze at it, and weep before it. Upon this occaſion, when *Acili-*

as one of *Brutus's* Friends repeated out of *Homer* these Verses, wherein *Andromache* speaks to *Hector*.

*Ee careful Hector, for with Thee my All,
My Father, Mother, Brother, Husband fall.*

Brutus smiling repli'd. But I must not answer *Portia*, as *Hector* did *Andromache*.

*Mind you your Wheel, and to your Maids
give Lave.*

For tho' the natural weakness of her body hinders her from acting what only the strength of Men can perform, yet she has a mind as valiant, and as active for the Good of her Country as the best of us. This Relation is in the Memoirs of *Brutus*, written by *Bibulus*, *Portia's* Son.

Brutus took Ship from hence, and sail'd to *Athens*; where he was receiv'd by the People, with great demonstrations of kindness, which they expressed in their loud Acclamations, and the Honours that were decreed him by the Publick. He liv'd there with one that had been formerly his Guest, and was a constant Auditor of *Theomnestus* the *Academick*, and *Cratippus* the *Peripatetick*, with whom he was so engaged in a Philosophi-

cal Conversation, that he seem'd to have laid aside all thoughts of publick Business, and that he might be wholly at Leisure for Study and Philosophy. But all this while being unsuspected he was secretly making preparation for War; in order to which he sent *Herostratus* into *Macedonia*, to bring over the Commanders that were there to his side, and he himself caress'd and won upon the Affections of all the young Roman Gentlemen, that were then Students at *Athens*. Of this number was *Cicero's* Son, whom he every where highly extol'd, and said, that *Whether sleeping or waking, he could not chuse but admire a young Man of so great a Spirit, and such a Hater of Tyrants.*

At length he began to act openly, and to appear in publick Business; and being informed that there were several Roman Ships very richly Laded, that in their course from *Asia*, were to touch at *Athens*, and that they were Commanded by one of his Friends; he went to meet him about *Carystus*: Finding him there, and having perswaded him to deliver up the Ships, he made a very splendid Entertainment, for it happen'd to be his Birth-day. Now when they came to drink somewhat briskly, and were making Libations

tions for Victory to *Brutus*, and Liberty to *Rome*, *Brutus* to animate them the more call'd for a larger Bowl, and holding it in his hand upon no occasion or Forethought on a sudden pronounc'd aloud this Verse.

Fate and Apollo against me Conspire.

Some Historians write that in the last Battel which he fought at *Philippi*, the Word that he gave to the Soldiers was *Apollo*, and from thence conclude that this sudden unaccountable Exclamation of his, was a Presage of the great Overthrow that he suffered there.

Antistius, the Commander of these Ships, at his parting gave him 500000 Sesterces of the Money that he was conveying to *Italy*. And all the Remains of *Pompey's* Army, which after their General's Defeat wander'd about *Theffaly*, readily & joyfully joyn'd themselves to *Brutus*. Besides this he took from *Cinna* five hundred Horse that he was carrying to *Dolabella* into *Asia*. After that he sail'd to *Demetrius*, and there seiz'd a great quantity of Arms, that had been provided by the command of *Julius Caesar* for the *Parthian* War, and were now design'd to be sent to *Antony*. Then was *Macedonia* put into his hands, and deliver'd up by *Hortentius* the Pretor, and all the

the Kings and Potentates round about willingly offer'd themselves to joyn with him. When news was brought that *Caius* the Brother of *Antony* having passed through *Italy*, was marched on directly to joyn the Forces that *Gabinus* Commanded in *Dyrrachium*, and *Apollonia*. *Brutus* design'd to prevent him, and to seize them first, and in all hast mov'd forwards with those that he had about him; his march was very difficult, through rugged places, and in a great Snow, but so swift, that he had left those that were to bring his Provisions a great way behind. And now being very near to *Dyrrachium*, with weariness and cold, he fell into a Distemper call'd *Bulimia*, or Violent Hunger: This is a Disease that seizes both Men and Cattel, after much labour, and especially in a great Snow: Whether it is caus'd by the natural Heat, which when the body is seized with cold, is forc'd all inwards and suddenly consumes all the Nourishment laid in; or whether the sharp and subtil Vapour, which comes from the Snow as it dissolves, cuts the body, as it were, and destroys the Heat, which is thence dispersed through the Pores; for the Sweatings which are frequent in this Distemper, seem to arise from the Heat meeting with

with the cold, and being quencht by it, in the Superficies of the Body. But of this I have in another place discoursed more at large. *Brutus* growing very faint, and there being none in the whole Army that had any thing for him to eat, his Servants were forc'd to have recourse to the Enemy, and going as far as to the very Gates of the City, beg'd Bread of the Sentinels that were upon Duty. As soon as they heard of the sad Estate of *Brutus*, they came themselves, and brought both Meat and Drink along with them; for which act of Humanity *Brutus*, when he took the City, shew'd all Kindness and Civility, not to them only, but to all the rest of the inhabitants for their Sakes.

Caius Antonius being now arriv'd at *Apollonia*, summon'd all the Soldiers that were near that City to joyn him there; but finding that they nevertheless went all to *Brutus*, and suspecting that even those of *Apollonia* were inclin'd to the same Party, he quitted that City, and come to *Buthrotus*; having first lost three Companies of his Men, that in their march thither, were cut to peices by *Brutus*. After this he attempting to make himself Master of some strong places, about *Byllis*, which the Enemy had first seiz'd

seiz'd; he was overcome in a set Battle by young *Cicero*, to whom *Brutus* gave the Command of the Army that day, and whose Conduct he made use of often, and with great Success. *Caius Antonius* was surpriz'd in a Marshy place, from whence he could not retire; and *Brutus* having him in his power, would not suffer his own Soldiers to fall upon those of the Enemy; but encompassing them with his Horse, gave command that none of them should be kill'd, for that in a little time they would all be of his side; which accordingly came to pass, for they surrendered both themselves and their General: So that *Brutus* had by this time a very great and considerable Army. He shew'd all marks of Honour and Esteem to *Caius Antonius* for a long time, nor took any of his Titles or Dignities away, tho' it is some report he had several Letters from *Rome*, and particularly from *Cicero*, advising him to put him to Death. But at last *Brutus* perceiving that he began to hold private Consults, and corrupt his Officers, and was raising a sedition amongst the Soldiers, he put him aboard a Ship, and kept him close Prisoner. In the mean time the Soldiers that had been corrupted by *Caius*, had retir'd to *Apollonia*, and sent word to *Brutus*, desiring

ing him to come to them thither. Hearing
 swer'd, that this was not the custome of
 the *Romans*, but that it became those
 who had offended to come themselves to
 their General, and beg forgiveness of
 their Crimes; which they did and ac-
 cordingly received their Pardon.

As he was preparing to pass into *Asia*
 there was an account brought to him of
 the Alteration that had happen'd at *Rome*,
 where the young *Cæsar* assisted by the Se-
 nate, in opposition to *Antony*, was got into
 great Power. And having now thrown his
 Competitor out of *Italy*, began himself
 to be very formidable: Suing for the
 Consulship contrary to Law, and main-
 taining a great Army, of which the
 Common wealth had no manner of need.
 At length perceiving that the Senate dis-
 satisfied with his proceedings, began to
 cast their eyes abroad upon *Brutus*, and
 decree'd and confirm'd the Government of
 several Provinces to him, he was in some
 apprehension of danger. Therefore dis-
 patching Messengers to *Antony*, he de-
 sir'd that there might be a Reconciliation,
 and a strict Friendship between them.
 Then drawing all his forces about the Ci-
 ty he made himself be chosen Consul, tho'
 he was but very young, being scarce
 Twenty years old, as he himself writes in
 his

his Commentaries. At his first entry
 upon the Consulship he immediately or-
 der'd a Judicial Process to be issu'd out a-
 gainst *Brutus*, and his Accomplices, for
 having Murder'd the greatest Man, and
 the highest Magistrate of *Rome*, with-
 out being heard or condemn'd; and ap-
 pointed *L. Cornificius* to accuse *Brutus*,
 and *M. Agrippa* to accuse *Cassius*. None
 appearing to Plead their Cause, the
 Judges were forc'd to pass Sentence and
 condemn them both. It is reported, that
 when the Cryer (as the custome was)
 with a loud voice cited *Brutus* to appear,
 the People could not keep in their sighs,
 and those of the best quality hung down
 their heads for Greif. *Publius Silicius*
 was seen to burst out into Tears, which
 was the cause that not long after he was
 put down in the List of those that were
 Proscrib'd. Now the *Triumviri*, *Cæsar*,
Antony, and *Lepidus*, being perfectly recon-
 cild shar'd the Provinces among them-
 selves, and made up the Catalogue of
 Proscription wherein were set down those
 that were design'd for Slaughter, amoun-
 ting to two hundred Men, in which num-
 ber *Cicero* was slain. This news be-
 ing brought to *Brutus* in *Macedonia*, he
 was forc'd to send orders to *Hortentius*,
 that he should kill *Caius Antonius*, in re-
 venge

venge of the Death of *Cicero* his friend, and *Decius Brutus* his near Kinsman, who also was proscrib'd and slain. Upon this account it was that *Antony* having afterwards taken *Hortentius* in the Battel of *Philippi*, Slew him upon his Brothers Tomb. But *Brutus* express'd himself more asham'd for the cause of *Cicero's* death, then griev'd for the misfortune of it, and could not help accusing his friends at *Rome*, that they were Slaves more through their own Fault, then those that Lorded over them : That could see and be present, and yet suffer those things, which even to hear related, ought to them to have insufferable.

Now *Brutus* having made his Army, that was already very considerable, pass into *Asia*; order'd a Fleet to be made ready in *Bythinia*, and *Cyzicum* for them to embark in : But himself going the way by Land, took care to settle and confirm to himself all the Cities, and gave Audience to the Princes of the Parts, through which he pass'd; and sent orders to *Cassius* into *Syria* to come to him, and leave his intended Journey into *Aegypt*; letting him understand that it was not to gain an Empire for themselves, but to free their Country, that they went thus wandering about, and had got an Army together, seized

whose business it was to destroy Tyrants : that therefore, if they remembred and resolv'd to persevere in their first intentions, they ought not to be too far from Italy, but to make what hast they could thither, and endeavour to relieve their fellow-Citizens from Oppression.

Cassius obey'd his Summons, and return'd; and *Brutus* went to meet him : And at *Smyrna* they both met; which was the first time they had seen one another since they parted at the *Piræum* in *Athens*; one for *Syria*, and the other for *Macedonia*. They were both over-joy'd, and rais'd to the highest degree of Confidence of their Success, from the Forces that each of them had got together : Since they who had fled from *Italy*, like the most despicable Exiles, without Money, without Arms, without a Ship, or a Souldier, or a City to rely on, in a little time after had met together, so well furnish'd with Shipping and Money, and an Army both of Horse and Foot, that they were in a condition to contend for the Empire of *Rome*. *Cassius* was desirous to shew as much Respect and Honour to *Brutus*, as *Brutus* did to him : But *Brutus* still prevented him, for the most part coming to him, both because he was the elder Man, and of a more weak

weak Constitution than himself. Men generally reckon'd *Cassius* a very expert Souldier, but of a harsh and angry Nature, and one that desir'd to Command rather by fear than love; though on the other side among his Familiar Acquaintance he was given to scurrillous Jest-ing, and lov'd to play the Buffoon. But *Brutus*, for the sake of his Vertue, was esteem'd by the People, belov'd by his Friends, admir'd by the best Men, and hated by none, no, not his Enemies themselves: For he was a man of an extraordinary mild Nature, of a great Spirit, insensible of the Passions of Anger or Pleasure, or Covetousness; steady and inflexible in his Opinion, and zealous for what-ever he thought right & honest. And that which gain'd him the greatest Credit & Reputation among the People, was the belief, that his designs in this whole Undertaking were honourable and just. For they could not hope, that even *Pompey* the Great himself, if he had overcome *Cæsar*, would have submitted his Power to the Laws, but would have ever managed the Publick Affairs himself; only soothing the People with the specious name of *Consul* or *Dictator*, or some other milder Title than *King*.

But they thought that *Cassius*, being a Man govern'd by Anger and Passion, and carried often by his covetous Humour beyond the bounds of Justice; endur'd all these hardships of War, and Travel, and Danger, rather to obtain Dominion to himself, than Liberty to the People. And as for the former disturbers of the Peace of *Rome*, whether a *Cinna*, a *Marius*, or a *Carbo*, it is manifest that they having set their Country as a stake for him that should win, did almost own in express terms, that they fought for Empire. But even the Enemies of *Brutus* can't say this accusation to his charge: Nay, many have heard *Anthony* himself say, *That Brutus was the only Man that Conspir'd against Cæsar, out of a sense of the Glory and Justice of the Action; but that all the rest rose up against the MAN, and not the TYRANT; from private Envy and Malice of their own.* And it is plain that *Brutus* (by what he writes himself) did not so much rely upon his Forces, as upon his own Vertue: For thus he speaks in his Epistle to *Atticus*, immediately before he was to engage with the Enemy. *That his Affairs were in the best state of Fortune that he could wish; for that either he should overcome, and restore Liberty to the People of Rome, or dye, and be himself*

free from Slavery. *That other things being agreed upon and settled, one thing was yet in doubt, whether they should Live or Die Free Men.* He adds farther, *That Marcus Anthony had received a just Punishment for his Folly, who when he might have been numbred with Brutus, and Cassius, and Cato, would joyn himself to Octavius: That though they should not now be both overcome, they soon would fight among themselves.* And in this he seems to have been no ill Prophet. Now, when they were at *Smyrna*, Brutus desir'd Cassius that he might have part of the great Treasure that Cassius had heaped up, because all his own was expended in furnishing out such a Fleet of Ships as was sufficient to keep all the Sea in their Power. But Cassius's Friends dissuaded him from this; for, said they, it is not just that the Money which you with so much Parsimony keep, and with so much Envy have got should be given to him, to be disposed of in making himself Popular, and gaining the favour of the Souldiers. Notwithstanding which, Cassius gave him a third part of all that he had; and then they parted each to their several Commands. Cassius having taken *Rhodes* behaved himself there with very great Cruelty; though at his first entry, when

some

some had call'd him *Lord and King*; he answer'd, that he was neither *King* nor *Lord*, but the Destroyer and Punisher of a *King* and *Lord*. Brutus, on the other part, sent to the *Lycians*, to demand from them a supply of Money and Men; but *Naucrates*, a Popular Man among 'em, perswaded the City to Rebel; so that some of the Country possess'd themselves of several little Mountains and Hills, with a design to hinder Brutus's passage: Brutus, at first, sent out a party of Horse, which surprizing 'em at Dinner, kill'd a good deal of them; and afterwards, having taken all their small Towns and Villages round about, he set all his Prisoners free without Ransom; hoping to win the whole Nation by his Clemency. But they continued obstinate; fill'd with anger for what they had suffer'd, and despising his Goodness and Humanity; till Brutus, having forc'd the most warlike of them into the City of *Xanthus*, besieged them there. Several endeavour'd to make their escape by swimming and diving under the River, but were taken by Nets for that purpose let down, which had little Bells at the top, which gave present notice of any that was taken in them. The *Xanthians* after that, made a Sally in the Night, and seizing several

of the Battering Engines, set them on fire; but being soon perceived by the *Romans*, were beaten back to their Wall; and there being a very violent Wind, it forced the flames to the Battlements of the City with such fierceness, that several of the adjoining Houses took fire. But *Brutus*, fearing lest the whole City should be destroyed, commanded his own Souldiers to assist those of the City, and to quench the fire. But the *Lycians* were on a sudden possess'd with a strange and incredible despair; such a Frenzy which cannot be better express'd, than by calling it a violent desire to dye; for both Women and Children, the Bondmen and the Free, those of all Ages, and of all Conditions, strove to force away the Souldiers, that came in to their Assistance from the Walls; and themselves gathering together Reeds and Wood, and whatever combustible matter they could, spread the fire over the whole City, feeding it with whatever fuel they could, and by all possible means exciting its fury; so that the flame having dispers'd it self, and encircled the whole City, blaz'd out in so terrible a manner, that *Brutus* being extremely afflicted at their Calamity, got himself on Horse-back, and rid round the Walls, earnestly desirous to preserve the

the City; and stretching forth his hands to the *Xanthians*, begg'd of them, that they would spare themselves, and save their Town. Yet none regarded his entreaties, but by all manner of ways strove to destroy themselves; not only Men and Women, but even Boys and little Children, with a hideous out cry some leap'd into the fire, others threw themselves from the Walls, others fell upon their Parents Swords, opening their breasts, and desiring to be slain. After the destruction of the City, there was found a Woman who had hanged her self, with her young Child hanging from her Neck, and the Torch in her hand with which she had fired her own House: It was so tragical a sight, that *Brutus* could not endure to see it, but wept at the very relation of it; and proclaim'd a Reward to any Souldier that could save a *Xanthian*. And it is said, that an hundred and fifty only were preserv'd, and that too against their wills. Thus the *Xanthians*, after a long space of years, the fatal period of their Destruction being, as it were, accomplish'd, by their desperate Courage, reviv'd the memory of the Calamity of their fore-fathers, who after the very same manner in the *Persian* War had fir'd their City, and destroyed themselves.

Brutus, after this, finding the *Patrians* resolv'd to make resistance, and hold out their City against him, was very unwilling to besiege it; and was in great perplexity lest the same Frenzy might seize them too. But having in his power some of their Women Captives, he dismiss'd them all without any Ransom; who returning, and giving an account to their Husbands and Fathers, who were of the greatest Quality, what an excellent Man *Brutus* was; how Sober, how Temperate, and how Just, perswaded them to yield themselves, and put their City into his hands. From this time, all the Cities round about came in to his Power, submitting themselves to him, and found him gracious and merciful, even beyond their hopes. For though *Cassius* at the same time had compell'd the *Rhodians* to bring in all the Silver and Gold that each of 'em privately was Master of; by which he rais'd a Sum of eight thousand Talents, and besides that, condemn'd the Publick to pay the Sum of five hundred Talents more. Yet *Brutus*, not having taken above a hundred and fifty Talents from the *Lycians*, and having done them no other manner of injury, parted from thence with his Army to *Ionis*. Through the whole course of this

this Expedition, *Brutus* did many memorable Acts of Justice, in dispensing Rewards and Punishments to such as had deserved either: One of which I will relate, because he himself, and all the Nobility of *Rome* were pleas'd with it above all the rest. When *Pompey* the Great, being overthrown by *Cæsar*, had fled to *Egypt*, and landed near *Pelusium*, the Protectors of the young King consulted among themselves, what was fit to be done on that Occasion, nor could all agree in the same Opinion; some being for receiving him, others for driving him from *Egypt*: But *Theodotus*, a *Chian* by birth, and a Mercenary Teacher of Rhetorick, then attending upon the King, and for want of better Men being admitted into the Council, undertook to convince 'em, that both Parties were in the wrong; those that counsell'd to receive *Pompey*, and those that advis'd to send him away: That in their present case, one thing only was necessary, to seize him, and to slay him; and ended his Speech with the Proverb, *That dead Men don't bite*. The Council agreed to his Opinion, and *Pompey* the Great (an Example of incredible and un fore-seen Events) was slain; and slain by the Rhetorick and Eloquence of *Theodotus*, as that

that Sophister himself had the impudence to boast. Not long after, when *Cæsar* came to *Ægypt*, some of the Murderers receiv'd their just Reward, and were put to death, as they deserv'd. But *Theodotus*, though he had gain'd from Fortune a little time for a poor despicable and wandering Life; yet could not lye hid from *Brutus*, as he pass'd through *Asia*; but being seiz'd by him, and Executed, had his Death made more memorable than his Life.

About this time *Brutus* sent to *Cassius* to come to him at the City of *Sardis*; and when he was on his Journey, went forth with his friends to meet him; and the whole Army being in array, saluted each of them with the Name of Emperour. Now (as it usually happens in business of great concern, and wherein many Friends, and many Commanders are engag'd) several Jealousies of each other, and private Accusations having pass'd between *Brutus* and *Cassius*, they resolv'd, before they entred upon any other business, immediately to withdraw into some private Apartment; where the Door being shut, and they two alone, they began first to expostulate, then to dispute hotly, and accuse each other; after that, from the liberty of speech and

ard words, that pass'd between 'em, they were transported into Passion, and last burst out into Tears. Their Friends, who stood without, were amaz'd, hearing them loud and angry, and fear'd lest some mischief might follow, but yet durst not interrupt them, being commanded not to enter the Room. But *Marcus Favonius*, one that had been a follower of *Cato*, and not so much for his Reason or Wisdom, as for his wild and frantick Carriage, would pass for a Philosopher, was rushing in upon 'em, but was hindred by the Attendants; but it was a hard matter to stop *Favonius*, where ever his wildness hurried him; for he was fierce and violent in all his behaviour: And though he was a Senator, yet thinking that one of the least of his Excellencies, he valued himself more upon a sort of *Cynical* liberty of speaking what he pleas'd; which sometimes was diverting enough to those that would interpret in jest his importunate scurrility. This *Favonius* breaking by force through those that kept the Doors, entred into the Chamber, and with a mimical voice pronounc'd this Verse that *Homer* makes *Nestor* use:

Be rul'd, for I am elder than you both.

This

This made *Cassius* laugh; but *Brutus* thrust him out, calling him impudent and counterfeit *Cynick*: But yet for the present this put an end to their Dispute, and they both parted. *Cassius* made a Supper that Night, and *Brutus* invited his Friends thither; when they were sat down, *Favonius* having bath'd, came in among 'em; *Brutus* call'd out aloud, and told him, that he was not invited, and bid him go sit at the lower end of the Table: But he violently thrust himself in, and sat down in the middle, where he diverted the whole Company all the time of their Entertainment with Drollery and Philosophy. The next day after, upon the accusation of the *Sardians*, *Brutus* publicly disgraced and condemned *Lucius Pella*, one that had been *Censor* of *Rome*, and employ'd in Offices of Trust by himself, for having embezel'd the Publick Money. This Action did not a little vex *Cassius*; for, but a few days before, two of his own Friends, being accus'd of the same Crime, he only in private admonish'd them; but in publick absolv'd 'em, and continued them in their Office; and upon this occasion he accus'd *Brutus* of too much rigour and severity of Justice, in a time which required 'em so use more gentleness and favour. In

Answer

Answer to this, "*Brutus* bid him remember the *Ides of March* (the day when they kill'd *Cæsar*) who himself did neither vex nor grieve all Mankind, but was only the support and strength of those that did; he bid him consider, that if there was any colour for Justice to be neglected, it had been better to have suffered the injustice of *Cæsar's* Friends, than to give impunity to their own; for then, said he, we could have been accus'd of Cowardise only; whereas now we are liable to the accusation of Injustice, after all our pain and dangers which we endure: By which we may perceive what was *Brutus's* purpose, and the Rule of all his Actions.

About the time that they had design'd to pass out of *Asia* into *Europe*, it was said, that a wonderful Apparition was seen by *Brutus*. He was naturally given to much Watching, and being us'd to great moderation in his Diet, and having perpetual Employment, he allow'd but a very small portion of time for sleep: He never slept in the day time, and in the Night then only when all his business was finish'd; and when every one else being gone to rest, he had no body to discourse with him. But at this time the War being begun, having the whole state of it to consider

consider of; and being very careful and solicitous of the Event, after his first sleep, which he took moderately just after Supper, he spent all the rest of the Night in managing his most urgent Affairs; which if he had dispatch'd in time, he employ'd himself in Reading, till the third Watch; at which time the Centurions and Tribunes were us'd to come to him for Orders. Thus one Night, before he pass'd out of Asia, he was very late all alone in his Tent, with a dim Light burning by him, all the rest of the Army being hush'd and silent; and musing with himself, and very thoughtful, as he turn'd his Eye to the Door, he saw a terrible and strange appearance of a prodigious and frightful Body coming towards him without speaking. Brutus boldly ask'd it, *What art thou? Man or God? Or, upon what business dost thou come to us?* The Spirit answer'd; *I am thy Evil Genius, Brutus: Thou shalt see me at Philippi.* To which, Brutus, not at all disturb'd, reply'd, *Then I will see thee.*

As soon as the Apparition vanish'd, he call'd his Servants to him, who all told him, that they had neither heard any voice, nor seen any Vision; from that time he continued watching, till the Morn-

ing; and then went to Cassius, and related to him the Apparition he had seen. He being bred up in the Principles of Epicurus's Philosophy, and being us'd to dispute with Brutus concerning matters of this Nature, spoke to him thus upon this occasion. *Brutus, it is the Opinion of our Sect, that all that we see or see, is not real and true; but that our Sense is a most slippery and deceitful thing: The Mind, which is more quick and subtle, moves and varies That into all manner of Ideas, which have no real existence in Nature, as readily as we imprint any form upon Wax; so that it is easie for the Soul of Man, which has in it self both that which forms, and that which is formed, to vary It into what shapes it please. This is evident, from the sudden changes of our Dreams, in which the imagination, upon very slight Principles, represents to us all sorts of Passions of the Soul, and appearances of things; for it is the Nature of the Mind to be in perpetual motion, and that motion is our Imagination and Thought: But besides all this, in your case, the Body being ty'd and worn out with continual Labours and Cares, naturally works upon the Mind, and keeps it in suspense and trouble. But that there should be any such thing as Demons or Spirits, or if there were, that they should have Humane shape,*

shape, or voice, or power, that can reach to us, is altogether improbable; though I confess I could wish that there were such Beings, that we might not rely upon our Arms only, and our Horses, and our Navy, all which are so great and powerful, but might be confident of the Assistance of the Gods also in this our most Sacred and Honourable Attempt.

With such Discourses as these, Cassius in some manner settled and composed the mind of Brutus.

As soon as the Army began to march from whence they were encamped, two Eagles flew to them, and lighted on the two first Ensigns, and continually followed the Souldiers, and were fed by them, till they came to *Philippi*, and there but one day before the Fight they both flew away. Brutus had already reduced most of the Places and People of these Parts; but he marched on as far as to the Coasts of *Thassos*, that if there were any City or Man of Power, that yet stood out, he might force them all to Subjection. In these parts *Norbanus* was encamp'd, in a place called the *Streights*, near *Symbolon*: Him they surrounded in such sort, as they forc'd him to dislodge and quit the place; and *Norbanus* narrowly escaped losing his whole Army.

Army; *Cesar*, by reason of his Sickness, being left behind: For he had certainly been lost, had not *Anthony* arriv'd to his relief with such wonderful swiftness, that Brutus could not believe that he was come. *Cesar* came up to the Army ten days after; Brutus was encamped over against him, and *Cassius* over against *Anthony*. The space between the two Armies, is called by the *Romans*, the Fields of *Philippi*. Never did two so great Roman Armies appear together ready to engage each other. The Army of Brutus was somewhat less in number than that of *Cesar*: But in the splendidness of their Arms, and richness of their Equipage, it did wonderfully exceed; for most of their Arms were of Gold and Silver, which Brutus had lavishly bestow'd among 'em: For though in other things Brutus had accustomed his Commanders to use all Frugality and Moderation, yet he thought that the Riches which Souldiers carried about 'em in their Hands, and on their Bodies, would stir up the Ambition of those that were desirous of Glory; and make those that were Covetous and lovers of Gain, fight the more valiantly to preserve their Arms, which were their Estate.

Cæsar made a View and Lustration of his Army within his Trenches, and distributed only a little Corn, and but five Drachmas to each Souldier for their Sacrifice they were to make. But *Brutus*, either pitying this Poverty, or disdaining this meanness of Spirit in *Cæsar*, first, as the Custom was, made a General Muster and Lustration of his Army in the open Field, and then distributed a great number of Beasts for Sacrifice to every Band, and fifty Drachmas to every Souldier: So that in the love of his Souldiers and their readiness to fight for him, *Brutus* had much the Advantage of *Cæsar*. But at the time of Lustration, it is reported that an unlucky Omen happen'd to *Cassius*; for one of his Officers presenting him with a Garland, that he was to wear at Sacrifice, gave it him with the inside outward: Farther, it is said, That some time before, at a certain Solemn Procession, the Golden Image of Victory, which was carried before *Cassius*, fell down by a slip of him that carried it. Besides this, there appear'd many Birds of Prey daily about the Camp; and several swarms of Bees were seen in a place within the Trenches, which place the South-sayers ordered to be shut out from the Camp, to remove the Superstition which insensibly began

to prevail with even *Cassius* himself, in spite of his *Epicurean* Philosophy, but had wholly infected and subdued the Souldiers: From whence it was that *Cassius* was very unwilling to put all to the hazzard of a present Battel, but advis'd rather to draw out the War till further time; considering that they were stronger in Money and Provisions, but in the Number and Men, inferiour. But *Brutus* on the contrary, was still, as formerly, desirous to come with all speed to the decision of a Battel; that so he might either restore his Country to her liberty, or else deliver from their misery all those Men that he had harra's'd with the expences, and the troubles, and dangers of the War. And finding also his Light Horse, in several Skirmishes, still to have had the better, he was the more encourag'd and resolv'd: And some of the Souldiers having deserted and gone to the Enemy, and others beginning to accuse and suspect one another, many of *Cassius's* Friends in the Council chang'd their Opinions to that of *Brutus*. But there was one of *Brutus's* Party, named *Decimus Brutus*, who oppos'd his Resolution, advising rather that they should tarry till the next Winter. And when *Brutus* ask'd him, In how much better a Condition he

hoped to be a Tear after? His Answer was If I gain nothing else, yet I shall live so much the longer.

Cassius was much displeased at this Answer; and among all the rest, Atellius was had in much dis-esteem for it: And it was presently resolved to give Battle the next day. Brutus that Night at Supper shew'd himself very chearful and full of Hope; and entertain'd his Guests with Reasonings and Discourses of Philosophy, and afterwards went to his Rest. But Messala says, that Cassius Supp'd privately with a few of his nearest Acquaintance, and that he appear'd thoughtful and silent, contrary to his Temper and Custom. That after Supper, he took him earnestly by the Hand, and speaking to him kindly, as his manner was, said in Greek, Bear witness for me, Messala, that I am brought into the same Necessity, as Pompey the Great was before me, of hazard- ing the Liberty of my Country upon one Battle: Yet ought we to be of Courage, relying on our good Fortune, which it were unjust to mistrust, though we have taken evil Counsels. These, Messala says, were the last words that Cassius spake before he bid him farewell; and that he invited him to Supper with him the next Night, being his Birth-day. As soon as it was Morn-

ing, the Signal of Battel, being a Scarlet Coat, was set out in Brutus's and Cassius's Camp, and they themselves met in the middle space between their two Armies: There Cassius spoke thus to Brutus. The Gods grant, O Brutus, that this day we may overcome; and that all the rest of our time we may live a happy Life together. But, these the greatest of Humane concerns are the most uncertain; and since it will be very difficult for us ever to see one another again, if the Battel should go against us, tell me, What is your Resolution concerning Flight and Death? Brutus answer'd, When I was young, Cassius, and unskilful in Affairs, I was engaged, I know not how, into an Opinion of Philosophy, which made me accuse Cato for killing himself, as thinking it an irreligious act against the Gods, nor any way valiant among Men, not to submit to Divine Providence, nor to be able fearlessly to receive and undergo whatever ill shall happen, but to fly from it. But now in the midst of danger I am quite of another mind; for if Providence shall not dispose what we now undertake according to our wishes, I resolve to try no farther Hopes, nor make any more Preparations for War, but will die contented with my Fortune. For I already have given up my Life to the Service of my Country on the Ides of March: And all the time that

I have lived since has been with Liberty and Honour.

Cassius at these words smil'd, and embracing *Brutus*, said, *With these Resolutions let us go on upon the Enemy; for either we our selves shall Conquer, or have no cause to fear those that do.* After this, they discours'd among their Friends about the Ordering of the Battel: And *Brutus* desired of *Cassius* that he might Command the Right Wing, though it was thought that this was more fit for *Cassius*, in regard both of his Age, and his Experience: Yet even in this *Cassius* comply'd with *Brutus*; and placed *Messala* with the valiantest of all his Legions, in the same Wing. *Brutus* immediately drew out his Horse, excellently well equip'd, and took the same care of bringing up his Foot after them. Now, *Antony's* Souldiers were casting a Trench from the Marsh by which they were encamped, to cut off *Cassius's* passage to the Sea. *Cesar* was at a distance in his Tent, not being able to be present himself, by reason of his Sicknes; but his Souldiers not expecting that the Enemy would come to a set Battel, but only make some excursions with their Darts and light Arms to disturb those that were working in their Trenches, nor taking enough notice of them

them that were coming directly upon them, ready to give Battel, were amaz'd when they heard the confus'd, and the great out-cry that came from the Trenches. In the mean while *Brutus* sent his Tickets, in which was the Word of Battel, to the Captains; and himself riding about to all the Troops, encouraged the Souldiers; but there were but few of them that understood the Word before they engaged, and the most of them not staying for it, with great fury and shouting ran upon the Enemy. This disorder caus'd a great confusion in the Army, and the Legions were scatter'd and dispers'd one from another: That of *Messala* first, and afterwards the next went beyond the left Wing of *Cesar*; and having cut off, and pass'd that Wing, with the slaughter of not many of the Enemy, fell directly into *Cesar's* Camp. *Octavius* himself (as his own *Commentaries* shew) had but just before been convey'd away, upon the perswasion of *Arburius*, one of his Friends, who had dreamt that he saw a Vision, which commanded *Cesar* to be carried out of the Camp. And it was believed that he was here slain; for the Souldiers had pierc'd his Litter, which was left empty, in many places with their Darts and Pikes. There was a great

slaughter in the Camp that was taken, and two thousand *Lacedemonians* that were newly come to the Assistance of *Cæsar*, were all cut off together. The rest of the Army that had not gone round by the left Wing of *Cæsar*, but had engaged his Front, easily overthrew them, being in great Consternation for the loss of their Camp, and flew upon the place of three Legions; and being carried on with the stream of Victory, pursuing those that fled, fell into the Camp with them, *Brutus* himself being there. But they that were conquered, took the Advantage of what the Conquerours did not consider; for they fell upon that part of the main Body, which they found shatter'd and unguarded, the right Wing being broke off from them, and furiously carried away in the pursuit; yet they could not break into the midst of their Battel, but were receiv'd with strong resistance and obstinacy: Yet they put to flight the left Wing, where *Cassius* commanded, being in great disorder, and ignorant of what had pass'd on the other Wing, and pursuing 'em to their Camp, they pillaged and destroyed it, though neither of their Generals were present. For *Anthony*, as they say, to avoid the fury of the first On-set, had retir'd into the Marsh that

was

was hard by; and *Cæsar* was no where to be found after his being convey'd out of the Tents. But some of the Souldiers shew'd *Brutus* their Swords bloody, and pretended that they had kill'd him; describing his Person and his Age. Now, the midst of *Brutus's* Battel had routed all that resisted them with great slaughter; and *Brutus* was every where as plainly Conquerour, as on the other side *Cassius* was conquered. And this one mistake was the ruine of their Affairs, That *Brutus* did not come to the relief of *Cassius*, thinking that he, as well as himself, was Conquerour; and that *Cassius* did not expect the Relief of *Brutus*, thinking that he too was overcome. For a Proof that the Victory was on *Brutus's* side, *Messala* urges his taking of three Eagles, and many Ensigns of the Enemy, without losing any of his own. *Brutus*, now returning from the pursuit, after having destroyed *Cæsar's* Camp, wonder'd that he could not see *Cassius's* Tent standing high, as it was wont, and appearing above the rest, nor any of the others appearing round about it. For they were immediately overturn'd and pillaged by the Enemy upon their first falling into the Camp. But some that had a more quick and discerning sight than the rest,

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acquainted *Brutus* that they saw a great deal of shining Armour, and Silver Targets moving to and fro about *Cassius's* Tents; and that they thought that by their Number and their Armour, they could not be those that they left to Guard the Camp; but yet, that there did not appear so great a number of dead Bodies thereabouts, as is probable would have been after the defeat of so many Legions. This first made *Brutus* suspect *Cassius's* Misfortune; and leaving a Guard in the Enemies Tent, call'd back those that were in the pursuit, and rallied 'em together, to lead 'em to the relief of *Cassius*, who was now in this condition; First, he was angry at the first On-set, that *Brutus* his Souldiers made without the Word of Battle, or Command to Charge. Then after they had overcome, he was as much displeased to see them all rush on to the Plunder and Spoil, and neglect to surround and encompass the rest of the Enemy. Besides this, by his own delay and slowness, more than by the briskness and conduct of the Captains of the other side, he found himself hem'd in by the Right Wing of the Enemy, and all his Horse making with all haste their escape, and flying towards the Sea; the Foot also began to fly, which he perceiving, labour'd

labour'd as much as ever he could to hinder their flight, and bring them back; and snatching an Ensign out of the Hand of one that fled, he stuck it at his Feet, though he could hardly keep even his own Prætorian Band together: So that at last he was forc'd to fly with a few about him to a little Hill, that over-looked all the Plain. But he himself being weak-sighted, discover'd nothing, only the destruction of his Camp, and that with much difficulty; but they that were with him saw a great Body of Horse, sent by *Brutus*, moving towards him. *Cassius* believ'd these were Enemies, and in pursuit of him; and sent away *Titinius* (one of those that was with him) to learn what they were. As soon as *Brutus's* Horse saw him coming, and knew him to be a friend and a faithful Servant of *Cassius*, those of them that were his more familiar Acquaintance shouting out for joy, and alighting from their Horses, saluted and embraced him; and the rest rode round about him in great Triumph and Noise through their excess of gladness at sight of him. But this was the occasion of the greatest mischief that could be: For *Cassius* really thought that *Titinius* had been taken by the Enemy, and cry'd out, *Through too much fondness of Life,*

I have liv'd to endure the sight of my Friend taken by the Enemy before my face. After which words, he retir'd into a private Tent, taking along with him only *Pindarus*, one of his freed-men, whom he had reserved for such an Occasion ever since the unhappy Battel against the *Parthians*, where *Cassius* was slain. But he escaped that Misfortune; but now wrapping his loose Garment about his Head, he made his Neck bare, and held it forth to *Pindarus*, commanding him to strike; and his Head was found lying severed from his Body; but no Man ever saw *Pindarus* after this Murther, from which some suspected, that he had kill'd his Master without his Command. Soon after, they perceived who the Horse-men were, and saw *Titinius* crown'd with Garlands, making what hast he could towards *Cassius*. But as soon as he understood by the Cries and Lamentations of his afflicted Friends, the unfortunate error and death of his General, he drew his Sword, and having very much accused and upbraided his own long stay, that had caused it, he slew himself. *Brutus*, as soon as he was assur'd of the Defeat of *Cassius*, made haste to him; but heard nothing of his Death, till he came near his Camp: Then having lamented over his Body,

calling

him, *The last of all the Romans*, saying, *That it was impossible that the City should ever produce another man of so great Spirit.* He sent away the Body to be buried at *Thassus*, lest celebrating his Funeral within the Camp, might breed some disorder. He then gathered his Souldiers together, and comforted them; and seeing them destitute of all things necessary, he promis'd to every Man 2000 *Drachma's*, in recompence of what he had lost.

They at these words took courage, and were astonish'd at the Magnificence of the gift; and waited upon him at his parting, with shouts and praises, magnifying him for the only General of all the four who was not overcome in the Battel. And indeed he prov'd by his Actions that it was not without reason he believ'd he should Conquer; for with a few Legions he overthrew all that resisted him; and if all his Souldiers had fought, and the most of them had not past beyond the Enemy in pursuit of the Plunder, it is very likely that he had utterly defeated them all. There fell of his side eight thousand Men, reckoning the Servants of the Army, whom *Brutus* call'd *Brigas*: And on the other side, *Messala* says, his Opinion is, that there were slain

slain above twice that number; for which reason they were more out of Heart than Brutus, till a Servant of Cassius, named Demetrius, came in the Evening to Anthony, and brought to him the Garment which he had taken from his Masters dead Body, and his Sword: At the sight of which they were so encouraged, that as soon as it was Morning, they drew out their whole Force into the Field, and stood in Battel-Array against Brutus. But Brutus found both his Camps wavering and in disorder, (for his own being fill'd with Prisoners, requir'd a Guard more strict than ordinary over 'em; and that of Cassius was much discontented at the change of their General; besides, some Envy and Hatred which those that were conquer'd bore to that part of the Army which were Conquerours) wherefore he thought it convenient to put his Army in Array, but to abstain as much as he could from fighting.

All the Slaves that were taken Prisoners, of which there was a great number that behav'd themselves not without suspicion among the Souldiers, he commanded to be slain; but of the Free-men and Citizens, some he dismiss'd, saying, *That among the Enemy they were rather Prisoners than with him; for with them*
they

they were Captives and Slaves, but with him Free-men and Citizens of Rome. Others he was forced to hide, and help them to escape privately, perceiving that some of his Friends and Commanders were implacably bent upon Revenge against them. Among the Captives there was one Volumnius, a Mimick, and Saccario, a Buffoon; of these Brutus took no manner of notice, but his Friends brought them before him, and accused them, that even then in that condition they did not refrain from their abusive Jest and scurrillous Language. Brutus having his Mind taken up with other Affairs, said nothing to their Accusation; but the judgment of Messala Corvinus was, That they should be whip'd publicly upon a Scaffold, and so sent naked to the Captains of the Enemy, to shew 'em what sort of fellow-drinkers and Companions were fit for such Warriours. At this some that were present laughed; but Publius Casca, he that gave the first Wound to Caesar, said, *That it was not decent to jest and make so merry at the Funerals of Cassius. But thou, O Brutus, says he, will shew what esteem you have for the memory of that General, in punishing or preserving those that scoff'd and spoke abusively of him.* To this, Brutus, with great

great indignation, reply'd, "Why then, *Casca*, do you tell me of this, and not do your self what you think fitting? This Answer of *Brutus* was taken for his consent to the death of these wretched Men; so they were carried away and slain.

After this, he gave the Souldiers the Reward that he had promis'd them; and having slightly reprov'd 'em for having fallen upon the Enemy in disorder, without the Word of Battel or Command: He promis'd 'em, that if they behaved themselves bravely in the next Engagement, he would give them up two Cities to spoil and plunder, *Theffalonica* and *Lacedæmon*. This is the only inexcusable fault in the Life of *Brutus*; though *Anthony* and *Cæsar* were much more cruel in the Rewards that they gave to their Souldiers after Victory: For they drove out almost all the old Inhabitants of *Italy*, to put their Souldiers in possession of other mens Lands and Cities; but indeed their only design and end in undertaking the War, was to obtain Dominion and Empire. But *Brutus*, for the reputation of his Vertue, could not either overcome or save himself but with Justice and Honour, especially after the death of *Cassius*, who was generally accus'd of putting *Brutus* upon several violent and cruel

Actions.

Actions. But now, as in a Ship, when the Rudder is broken by a Storm, the Mariners fit and nail on some other piece of Wood instead of it; striving against the danger not so well as before, but as well as in that necessity they can. So *Brutus* being at the Head of so great an Army, and engaged in such weighty Affairs, and having no Commander equal to *Cassius*, was forc'd to make use of those that he had, and to do, and to say many things according to their Advice; which he chiefly follow'd in whatever might conduce to the bringing of *Cassius's* Souldiers into better Order. For they were very head-strong and intractable, bold and insolent in the Camp for want of their General, but in the Field cowardly and fearful, remembering that they had been beaten. Neither were the Affairs of *Cæsar* and *Anthony* in any better posture; for they were streightned for Provision, and the Camp being in a low Ground, they expected to endure a very hard Winter. For being encompass'd with Harshes, and a great quantity of Rain, as is usual in Autumn, having fallen after the Battel, their Tents were all fill'd with fire and Water, which through the coldness of the Weather immediately froze.

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And while they were in this condition, there was News brought to them of their loss at Sea. For *Brutus's* Fleet fell upon their Ships which were bringing a great supply of Souldiers out of *Italy*; and so entirely defeated 'em, that but very few escaped being slain, and they too were forc'd by Famine to feed upon the Sails and Tackle of the Ship. As soon as they heard this, they made what hast they could to come to the decision of a Battel before *Brutus* should have notice of his good Success. For it happen'd that the Fight both by Sea and Land was on the same day. But by some misfortune, rather than the fault of his Commanders, *Brutus* knew not of his Victory till twenty days after. For had he been informed of this, he would not have been brought to a second Battel, since he had sufficient Provisions for his Army for a long time, and was very advantageously posted, his Camp being safe from the injuries of the Weather, and almost inaccessible to the Enemy: And his being absolute Master of the Sea, and having at Land overcome on that side wherein he himself was engag'd, would have mightily encourag'd him. But (it seems) the state of *Rome* not enduring any longer to be govern'd by Many, but necessarily requiring a Monarchy,

Providence, that it might remove out of the way the only Man that was able to resist him that was destin'd to this Empire, cut off this good Fortune from coming to the ears of *Brutus*; Tho' it came but a very little too late: For the very Evening before the Fight, *Cloilius*, a deserter from the Enemy, came and told him, that *Cesar* had receiv'd advice of the loss of his Fleet, and for that reason was in such hast to come to a Battel. This Relation met with no Credit, neither would *Brutus* so much as admit him to his Presence, but utterly despis'd him, as one that had had no good Information, or one that had invented Lies to please him, and bring himself in to favour.

The same Night, they say, the Vision appear'd again to *Brutus* in the same shape that it did before, but vanish'd away without speaking. But *Publius Volumnius* (a Man given to the study of Philosophy, and one that had from the beginning born Arms with *Brutus*) makes no mention of this Apparition, but says, that the first Standard was cover'd with a swarm of Bees; and that there was one of the Captains, whose Arm of it self sweated Oyl of Roses; and though they often dryed and wiped it, yet it would

not cease. And that immediately before the Battel, two Eagles falling upon each other, fought in the space between the two Armies; that the whole Field kept incredible silence, and all were intent upon the Spectacle, till at last that which was on *Brutus's* side yielded and fled. But the story of the *Ethiopian* is very famous, who meeting the Standard-bearer at the opening the Gate of the Camp, was cut to pieces by the Souldiers that took it for an ill Omen. — *Brutus* having brought his Army into the Field, and set 'em in Array against the Enemy; he paus'd a long while before he would fight; for examining his Army, he began to have some suspicions of some of them, and others were accus'd to him. Besides, he saw his Horse begin the Fight not with any great Vigour or Resolution, but still expecting what the Foot would do; then suddenly, *Camulatus*, a very good Souldier, and one whom for his Valour he highly esteem'd, riding hard by *Brutus* himself, went over to the Enemy, the sight of which griev'd *Brutus* exceedingly. So that partly out of Anger, and partly out of fear of some greater Treason and Desertion, he immediately drew on his Forces upon the Enemy after Three of the Clock in the Afternoon. *Brutus*

on

on his side had the better, violently charging the Enemies left Wing, which gave way and retreated, and the Horse too fell in together with the Foot when they saw them amaz'd and in disorder. But the other Wing, when the Captains order'd them to march on to the fight, fearing to be encompass'd, being fewer in number than their Adversaries, spread themselves, and widen'd the middle of their Battel, by which being weakned, they could not withstand the Charge, but at the first On-set fled. After their defeat, the Enemy surrounded *Brutus* behind, who all the while performed all that was possible for an expert General and valiant Souldier; shewing in the greatest danger a Courage and a Conduct that deserv'd to Overcome. But that which was advantageous to him in the former Fight, was much to his prejudice in this second. For in the first Fight, that part which was beaten, was presently cut in pieces; but in this, of *Cassius's* Souldiers that fled, few were slain, and those that escaped, daunted with being beaten, put the greatest part of the Army, when they came to joyn with them, into Despair and Confusion. Here *Marcus*, the Son of *Cato*, was slain fighting, and behaving himself with great bravery in the midst

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of

of the Youth of the greatest Quality and Valour. He would neither fly, nor give the least ground, but still fighting, and declaring who he was, and naming his Fathers Name, he fell upon a heap of dead Bodies of the Enemy. And several others of the bravest Men in the Army were there slain, who ran in to save *Brutus*. There was in the Field one *Lucilius*, an excellent Man, and a Friend of *Brutus*, who seeing some of the Barbarians Horse, taking no notice of any other in the pursuit, but directly making towards *Brutus*, resolv'd to stop them, though with the hazard of his Life; and being left a little behind, told them, that he was *Brutus*: They believ'd him the rather, because he prayed to be carried to *Antony*, pretending that he fear'd *Cesar*, but durst trust Him. They over-joyed with their Prey, and thinking themselves wonderfully fortunate, carried him along with them in the Night, having first sent Messengers to *Antony* of their coming: He was extremely pleas'd, and came to meet them; and all the rest that heard that *Brutus* was taken and brought alive, flock'd together to see him; some pitying his Fortune, others accusing him of a meanness unbecoming his former Glory, that put of too much love of Life, would be

a Prey to Barbarians. When they came near together, *Antony* stood still, considering with himself in what manner he should receive *Brutus*. But *Lucilius* being brought to him, with great confidence said, Be assur'd, *Antony*, that no Enemy either has, or ever shall take *Marcus Brutus* alive, (forbid it, ye Gods, that Fortune should ever so much prevail above Virtue) but he shall be found, alive or dead, as becomes himself. As for me, I am come hither by a cheat that I put upon your Souldiers, and am ready, upon this occasion, to suffer whatever Torments you will inflict. All were amaz'd to hear *Lucilius* speak these words: But *Antony*, turning himself to those that brought him, said, I perceive, my fellow-souldiers, that you are concern'd, and take it ill, that you have been thus deceiv'd, and think your selves abus'd and injur'd by it: But know, that you have met with a Booty better than that you sought: For you were in search of an Enemy, but you have brought me here a Friend. For indeed I am uncertain how I should have us'd *Brutus*, if you had brought him alive; but of this I am sure, that 'tis better to have such Men as *Lucilius* our Friends, than our Enemies. Having said this, he embrac'd *Lucilius*, and for the present commended him to the care of

one of his Friends, and ever after found him a steady and a faithful Friend.

Brutus had now past a little Brook, encompass'd with Rocks, and shaded with Trees, and it being Night, would go no farther, but set down in a hollow place at the foot of a great Rock, with a few of his Captains and Friends about him. At first, looking up to Heaven, that was then full of Stars, he repeated two Verses, one of which, *Volumnius* writes, was this,

Punish, great Jove, the Author of these ills.

The other, he says, he has forgot. Soon after, naming severally all his Friends that had been slain before his face in the Battel, he fetch'd a deep sigh, especially at the mentioning of *Flavius* and *Labio*, whereof one was his * Lieutenant, and the other * Master of his Workmen in the Camp. In the mean time, one of his Companions that was very thirsty, and saw *Brutus* in the same condition, took his Helmet, and ran to the Brook for Water, when a noise being heard from the other side of the River, *Volumnius* taking *Dardanus*, *Brutus's* Armour-bearer with him, went out to see what it was: They return'd in a very short

Labio.
Flavius.

short space, and enquir'd about the Water: But *Brutus* very calmly smiling, said to *Volumnius*, *It is all drunk, but you shall have some more fetch'd.* But he that had brought the first Water being sent again, was in great danger of being taken by the Enemy; but, having receiv'd a Wound, with much difficulty escaped.

Now, *Brutus* guessing that not many of his Men were slain in the Fight, *Statilius* undertook to pass through the Enemy (for there was no other way) and to see what was become of their Camp; and promis'd, that if he found all things there safe, to hold up a Torch for a Signal, and then return. The Torch was held up, for *Statilius* got safe to the Camp; but he after a long time not returning, *Brutus* said, *If Statilius be alive, he will come back.* But it happen'd that in his return he fell into the Enemies hands, and was slain. The Night now being far spent, *Brutus*, as he was sitting, lean'd his Head towards his Servant *Clitus*, and spoke to him; he answer'd him not, but fell a weeping. After that, he drew aside his Armour-bearer, *Dardanus*, and had some Discourse with him in private: At last, speaking to *Volumnius* in Greek, he conjur'd him by their common Studies and former Conversation, that he would take

take hold of his Sword with him, and help him to thrust it through him: *Voluminus* refus'd it, and several others did the like; and one of them saying, that there was no staying there, but they needs must fly: *Brutus*, rising up, said, *Yes indeed, we must fly, but not with our Feet, but with our Hands.* Then taking each of them by the Hand, with a chearful Countenance he said, *That he found an infinite Satisfaction in this, That none of his Friends had been false to him. That as for Fortune, he was angry with That, only for his Countries sake. As for himself, he thought he was much more happy than they who had overcome; not only in regard of what was past, but even in his present Condition; since he was now leaving behind him such a Reputation of his Vertue, as none of the Conquerours, with all their Arms and Riches, should ever be able to acquire, no more than they could hinder Posterity from believing and saying, That being unjust and wicked men, they had destroy'd the just, and the Good, and Usurp'd an Empire to which they had no Right.* After this, having exhorted and beseech'd all about him to provide for their own safety, he withdrew from them with two or three only of his peculiar Friends; *Strato* was one of these, with whom he had contracted an Ac-

quain-

quaintance when they both study'd Rhetorick together. Him he plac'd next to himself, and taking hold of the Hilt of his Sword, and directing it with both his hands, he fell upon it, and kill'd himself. But others say, that not he himself, but *Strato*, at the earnest entreaty of *Brutus*, turning aside his Head, held the Sword, upon which he violently throwing himself, it pierc'd his Breast, and he immediately dy'd. This same *Strato*, *Messala*, a Friend of *Brutus*, being after reconcil'd to *Cæsar*, brought to him once at his leisure, and with Tears in his Eyes said, *This, O Cæsar, is the Man that did the last Friendly Office to my beloved Brutus.* Upon which, *Cæsar* receiv'd him kindly, and had good use of his Service among the rest of the Valiant Greeks that serv'd him in the Battel of *Actium*. It is reported of *Messala* himself, that when *Cæsar* once gave him this Commendation, That tho' he was his fiercest Enemy at *Philippi* in the cause of *Brutus*, yet he had shew'd himself his most entire Friend in the Fight of *Actium*. He answer'd, *You shall always find me, Cæsar, on the best and justest side.* Now, when *Antony* had found the Body of *Brutus*, he commanded the richest Coat that he had to be thrown over it; and after-

afterwards the Coat being stolen, he found the Thief, and had him put to death; and then sent the Ashes and Reliques of *Brutus* to his Mother *Servilia*. As for *Porcia* his Wife, *Nicolaus* the Philosopher, and *Valerius Maximus* write, That being desirous to die, but being hindered by her Friends, who continually watch'd her, from killing her self, she snatch'd some burning Coals out of the fire, and shutting them close in her mouth, stifled her self, and dy'd. Though there is yet extant a Letter of *Brutus* to his Friends, in which he laments the death of *Porcia*, and accuses them for neglecting her so, that she desir'd to die, rather than languish with her Disease. So that it seems *Nicolaus* was mistaken in the time. For this Epistle (if it indeed is Authentick, and truly *Brutus's*) gives us to understand, the Disease, and the Love of this Lady, and the manner of her Death.

The End of the Life of Brutus.

The

The Comparison of Dion and Brutus.

Seeing then that these Men grew so very Famous, especially in that with inconsiderable helps they attain'd to such Power and Greatness. On this score *Dion* has by far the Advantage: For he had no Partner, none to share the Glory, as *Brutus* had of *Cassius*: Who was not indeed of that Reputation for Vertue and Honour; yet not inferiour for his Diligence, his Courage, and his Experience in the toils of War.

And some there be, who to him impute the rise and beginning of the whole Action, saying, that it was He who roundly to *Brutus* gave his Advice against *Cesar*.

Whereas *Dion* seems not only of himself to have provided Arms, Ships, and Souldiers, but likewise Friends and Partners for the Enterprize.

Neither did he, as *Brutus*, gather to himself from the War any Strength or Riches; but laid out of his own Substance, and employ'd his private Necessaries for the Liberty of his Country.

Besides

Besides this, *Brutus* and *Cassius*, when they fled from *Rome*, could not live safe or quiet; Condemn'd to Death, and were pursued, they were of necessity forc'd to take Arms, and hazard their Lives in their own Defence, to save themselves, rather than their Country.

On the contrary, *Dion* enjoy'd more ease, was more safe, and his Life more pleasant in his Banishment, than was the Tyrant's who had banish'd him; when he flies to Action, and runs the risk of all to save *Sicily*.

But take notice, it was not the same thing to free the *Sicilians* from *Dionysius*, and to support *Rome* against *Cæsar*; because the former own'd himself a Tyrant, and vex'd *Sicily* with a thousand Oppressions. Whereas *Cæsar's* Government, in the modelling of it, very much puzzled his Adversaries. They who had address'd, and they that were forc'd, were both sensible, truly, of the Name and Appearance; but Fact that was Cruel or Tyrannical they saw none: Only he held forth in that Distemper of Affairs, the necessity of a Monarchy, as the gentlest Cure by God himself prescribed them. Whereupon the Common People presently missed *Cæsar*, and grew enraged and implacable against those that kill'd him.

On

On the contrary, *Dion* was hotly prosecuted by the Commons, for having let *Dionysius* escape; and for not having digg'd up the former Tyrant's Grave.

In all Actions of War, *Dion* was a Commander without fault, improving to the utmost those Counsels which himself gave, and, where others fail'd, correcting, and turning every thing to the best. But *Brutus*, when all at stake, and to be decided by Battel, seems to have shew'd very indifferent Conduct. Nor, having done amiss, knew he how to set things right again: He wanted Heart, and wanted Hope; nor, so much as *Pompey*, could trust his Fortune, when he had still ground enough to rely on his Troops, and was clearly Master of all the Seas with his Ships.

The greatest thing charg'd on *Brutus*, is, That He, and whom he list, of his Party, being saved by *Cæsar's* kindness, and he accounted a Friend, and prefer'd above many, did yet lay violent hands upon *Cæsar*. Nothing like this could be objected against *Dion*; quite contrary, whilst he was of *Dionysius's* Family, and his Friend, he did good Service, and was useful to him: But driven from his Country, wrong'd in his Wife, and his Estate lost, he openly entred upon a War, Just and Lawful.

How-

However, the matter turns otherwise; for the chief Glory of both, was their hatred of Tyranny, and abhorrence of Wickedness; this was clear and sincere in *Brutus*. For he had no private Quarrel with *Cæsar*, but put all to the risk for the Liberty of his Country. The other, had he not been piqu'd, had not fought. This is plain from *Plato's* Epistles, where it is shew'd, that he was turn'd out, and did not forsake the Court, to wage War upon *Dionysius*. Moreover, the Publick Good reconcil'd and made *Brutus* *Pompey's* Friend, and *Cæsar's* Enemy: Proposing for his Hatred and his Friendship no other End and Standard, but Justice. *Dion* was very serviceable to *Dionysius*, whilst in favour; when no longer trusted, he grew angry, and fell to Arms. Hereupon his Friends were not all of them satisfied with his Undertaking, lest having overcome *Dionysius*, he might not settle the Government, by some softer Name cheating the People.

The very Enemies of *Brutus* would say, That he had no other end or aim, from first to last, save only to restore to the *Roman* People their Ancient Government.

Not.

Notwithstanding what has been said, the Adventure against *Dionysius* was nothing equal with that against *Cæsar*: For one that was familiarly conversant with *Dionysius*, but detested his perpetual Sotting with Wine, Women, and Dice. Whereas it required an huge Soul, and undaunted Courage to entertain but a thought of vanquishing *Cæsar*, so formidable by his Reputation, his Power, and his Prosperity: And whose Head so buzz'd with the Names of the *Parthian* and *Indian* Kings, that he could not sleep.

Dion was no sooner seen in *Sicily*, but thousands ran in to him, and joyn'd him against *Dionysius*; whereas the Renown of *Cæsar*, even when dead, gave heart to his Friends: And his very Name so heighten'd the Person that took it, that from a simple Boy, he presently became the Chief of the *Romans*. And he used it for a Spell against the Malice and Popularity of *Antony*.

If any Object, That it cost *Dion* great trouble and difficulties to overcome the Tyrant; whereas *Brutus* slew *Cæsar* naked and unprovided. This shews a work of vast Policy and Conduct, to bring it about, that a Man so Guarded round, and so Fortified at all Points, should be

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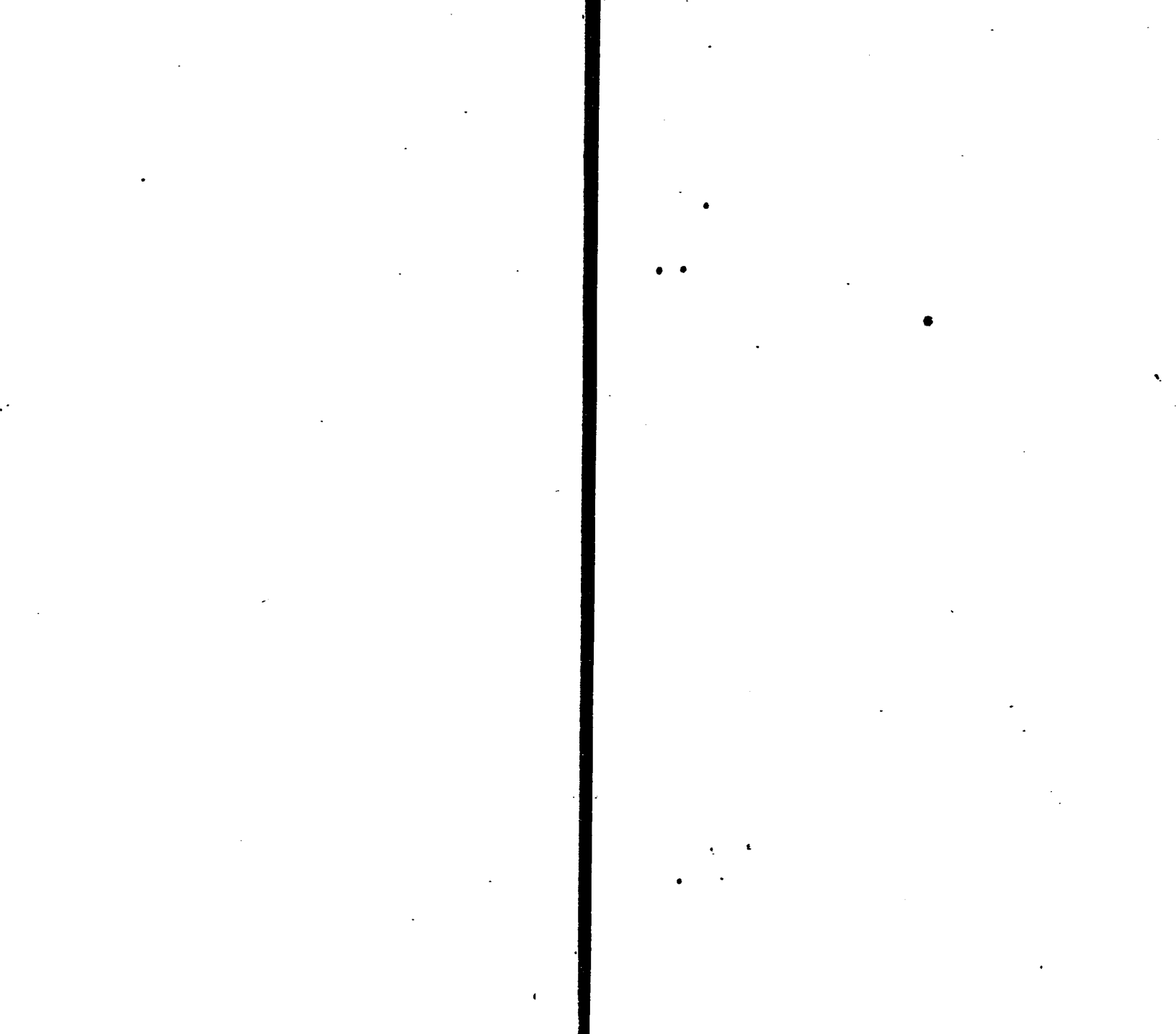
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taken naked and unprovided. For it was not on the sudden, nor alone, nor with a few that he fell upon and kill'd *Cæsar*; but after long concerting the Plot, and Confidence in a great many Men, not one of whom deceiv'd him; for he either presently discern'd the best Men, or by confiding in them, made them good. But *Dion*, either making a wrong Judgment, trusted himself with ill Men; or else by his employing them, made ill Men of good; either of the two would be a Reflection on a Wise Man. *Plato* is severe upon him, for chusing such for Friends, as betray'd him: Besides, when *Dion* was kill'd, none appear'd to revenge his Death.

Whereas *Brutus*, even amongst his Enemies, had *Antony* that buried him splendidly. *Cæsar* also took care his Honours should be preserv'd. There stood at *Mediolanum* in *Gallia Cisalpina*, a Brazen Statue, representing *Brutus*, and curiously wrought. *Cæsar* passing that way, made a Halt, and, in the hearing of many, commanded the Magistrates to come before him: He told them, *Their Town had broken the League with him, harbouring an Enemy*. At the first, they deny'd the thing; and not knowing what to say, looked upon one another; when *Cæsar*,

Cæsar, turning towards to the Statue, and wrinkling his brow, *Pray*, says he, *is not that our Enemy who stands there?* They were all in Confusion, and had nothing to answer: But he smiling, much commended the *Gauls*, as *who had been true to their Friends, tho' in Adversity*: And so commanded that the Statue should remain standing, as he found it.

THE



SER. SULPICIUS GALBA.



Disce Militare Miles.

(701)

THE
LIFE
OF
GALBA.

Translated from the Greek, by
ANDREW TAYLOR, M.A.
*Late Fellow of King's Colledge in
CAMBRIDGE.*

VOLUME V.

[Phicrates, the *Athenian*, suppos'd that a Souldier of Fortune ought to be covetous, and sensual, to put him upon bold Adventures, to lay in a stock to gratifie his Lusts; but most were of Opinion, that the Body of an Army, as well as the Natural one (tho' never so strong) should make no efforts apart, but in compli-

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ance with their Head. Wherefore they tell us that *Paulus Æmilius*, recruiting his Forces in *Macedonia*, and finding 'em talkative, and impertinently busie, as tho' they were all Commanders, issu'd out his Orders that they should have onely ready Hands, and keen Swords, and leave the rest to his care and conduct. But *Plato* observing nothing succeed well under a brave General, unless the Army were also sober, and agreeable, judg'd, that to obey orderly, as well as to Command, requir'd a generous temper, with constant discipline and exercise; chiefly to allay their hot spirits and active humour, with gentleness and civility: And indeed sundry sad instances elsewhere, as well as amongst the *Romans*, after the death of *Nero*, are plain proofs, that nothing is more dangerous than a Military power, unskillfully manag'd; therefore *Demades*, after the death of *Alexander*, compar'd the *Macedonian* Army to the *Cyclops Polyphemus*, after his Eye was out, seeing their many disorderly and giddy motions. But the *Roman* Government he likened to the Gyants that assailed Heaven, whose force return'd upon it self, and with a great deal of bustle, onely wrought its own ruin, not so much by the Emperors ambition, as the covetousness and extravagancy of the Soldiers,

Τῶν φιλοσόφων.

soldiers, making 'em push out one another, for their advantage. Thus *Dionysius*, in railery, said of *Pheræus*, enjoying the government of *Thessaly* onely Ten months, *He acted a pretty short part, and so exit Pheræus*: but the Royal Pallace at *Rome* received four Emperours in less time, one making room for another to enter.

Τετραγικόν
τύραννον

This was the onely satisfaction of the distressed, that they needed not require any other Justice on their Oppressours, seeing them thus murder each other; first of all, and that most justly, he that ensnar'd 'em first, and taught 'em to expect such great matters as he had promised at *Cæsars* death, fulfilling that brave action, viz. the revolting from *Nero*, turning it into scandalous treachery by his Bribery, for *Nymphidius Sabinus* Captain of the Guards, together with *Tigillinus*, after *Nero's* circumstances were known, and that he designed to fly into *Ægypt*, perswaded the Army to declare *Galba* Emperour, as if *Nero* had been already gone, promising to all the Souldiers as well those abroad, as the home Guards so round a Sum for a largess that it was impossible any one could raise, but he must be infinitely more exacting then ever *Nero* was. This presently dispatch *Nero*, and soon after *Galba* too; they murthered the first, in expectation of the promised Sum; and

not long after the other because he kept not touch with them according to his word ; thus vainly enquiring who would purchase at such a rate, they destroyed themselves, by Treachery and Rebellion, before they obtain'd their expectations ; but to give you a particular relation of all that pass'd would require too large a History. But I ought not pass by what is most material, what the *Cæsars* both did and suffer'd. *Sulpitius Galba* is own'd by all, to be the richest of a private Person, that ever came to the imperial Seat, (besides the additional Honour of being of the Family of the *Servii*), he valu'd himself for his relation to *Catulus*, a Person of Eminence in his time, both for Vertue and Renown ; tho' he voluntarily yeilded to others for Power and Authority : *Galba* was also a kin to *Livia* Wife to *Augustus*, by whose interest he was by the Court prefer'd to the Consulship. 'Tis said of him that he honourably discharg'd his Command in *Germany*, and being made Proconsul in *Libia*, he gain'd that Reputation few ever had. But his thrifty narrow entertainments (beneath the Dignity of a General) was a great diminution, and only afforded him the mean credit, of being called an orderly, sober gentleman. He was intrusted by *Nero* with

with the Government of *Spain*, when he had not yet learn'd to revere the great Citizens in Authority. To the Opinion they had of his mild Natural temper, his old Age occasion'd a belief that he would act too cautiously. And altho he had the management of *Nero's* Officers in his own Hands ; who with savage cruelty harrast the Provinces, he gave them this onely ease and consolation, that he seem'd plainly to sympathize with the poor injur'd Slaves, as a fellow sufferer. And when Lam-poons were made upon *Nero*, and sung every where about, he neither prohibited them, nor shew'd any indignation, as the Procurators did, for which indeed he was the more belov'd ; as also that he was well acquainted with 'em, having been in chief Power there Eight years ; at which time *Junius Vindex* General of the Forces in *Gaul* began to make Head against *Nero*, and 'tis reported that Letters came to him before it fully broke out into Rebellion, which he seem'd neither to give credit to, nor thwarted, nor in the least acquainted, *Nero*, whereas other Officers had inform'd him ; according to what came to their hands, and so spoyl'd the design, (as much as in 'em lay) who afterwards sharing in the Conspiracy, confess they had been Treacherous to themselves, as well as him.

At last *Vindex* plainly declaring War, wrote to *Galba*, encouraging him to take the Government upon him, and Head the *Gauls*, a very considerable Body indeed, not less than 100000 Men, and able to raise more if occasion were. He then propounded this advice to his Friends, some of whom thought it fit to expect what commotions there might be, or what inclinations *Rome* might discover towards an alteration; but *Titus Junius* Captain of the Guards, spoke thus: *Galba what means this demur, to inquire whether we shall continue faithful to Nero is perfect madness; what tho Vindex be an enemy of Nero's, yet his friendship is in no wise to be rejected; much less to be inform'd against; or oppos'd by Arms, because he would rather have you the Roman Emperour than Nero their Tyrant.* Thereupon *Galba* by an Edict appointed a certain Day for enfranchising those that requested it, the rumour of which soon brought together a great crowd of Men so readily inclin'd to innovations, that he scarcely appear'd stepping up to the Chair of State, but they with one consent saluted him Emperour, which Title he refused at present to take upon him; but after he had a while inveighed against *Nero*, and bemoan'd the loss of those brave Men that had been destroyed by him, he offered himself, and service to his Country

try not by those specious Titles of *Cæsar*, or Emperor, but onely as Lieutenant to the Senate and People.

Now that *Vindex* did wisely in inviting *Galba* to the Empire; *Nero* himself bore testimony, though he seem'd to despise him, and altogether to slight the *Gauls* and their Concerns; yet when he heard of *Galba* (as by chance he had wash'd and sat down to Dinner) he in indignation overturn'd the Table. But the Senate voting *Galba* an enemy, he being dispos'd to sport and likewise personate a confidence amongst his friends; *This bodes no ill to me* (says he) *who want such a booty as that of the Gauls, which must all fall in, as lawful prize; and for Galba's estate, I can use, or sell it as occasion serves, he appearing an open Enemy:* and accordingly appointed a publick Auction, where in *Galba's* Fortune was expos'd to Sale: which when *Galba* heard of, he sequester'd *Nero's* estate in *Spain*, and found far more brisk bidders.

The most part in this juncture revolted from *Nero*, and adher'd to *Galba*: only *Clodius Macer* in *Africa*, and *Virginus Rufus*, Commander of the German Forces in *Gallia*, took different measures from all the rest, yet these two were not absolutely unanimous, for *Clodius* being sensible of his rapine and murders (being acted by cruelty

and convetousness) stood wavering; not finding it safe, either to retain or quit his command. But *Virginius* who had the command of their chief Legions, by whom he was often complemented with the Title of Emperour, and prest to take it upon him, declar'd that he neither would assume that honour himself, nor see it given to any other, than whom the Senate should elect.

These things at first, did not a little perplex *Galba*; but presently *Virginius* and *Vindex's* forces compell'd their Commanders (having got the Reins as it were out of their hands) to an engagement where *Vindex* sustaining the loss of 20000 men, and offering violence to himself, the report strait spread abroad, that all desir'd *Virginius* should take the Empire upon him; or they would return to *Nero* again. *Galba* being startled at this, wrote to *Virginius* exhorting him to joyn with him, for the preservation of the Empire, and the liberty of the *Romans*, and so retiring with his friends into *Colonia*, (a Town in *Spain*) he past away his time, rather repenting his former rashness (wishing for his wonted ease and privacy) then setting about what was fit to be done. It was now Summer, when on a suddain in the Evening comes one of *Galba's* Freemen from *Rome* (a *Sicilian* by birth)

birth) in seven days space, and being inform'd where *Galba* was reposing himself in private, rushing by the Grooms of the Chamber, he hastily ran into the Room, and told him, that *Nero* being yet alive, but not appearing, first the Army, and then the People and Senate declar'd *Galba* Emperour: not long after it was reported that *Nero* was dead, but I (says he) not giving credit to common fame, went my self, and when I beheld him stretcht out stark dead, I hastned to bring the news. This clearly reviv'd *Galba*, and a great Crowd hastning to the door were very confident of the truth of his tidings, though the speed of the man was almost incredible. Two days after came *Titus Junius*, with sundry others from the Camp, who gave an account of the orders of the Senate as to that affair, and, for his service was considerably advanc't. On his Freeman he conferr'd the honour of the Gold Ring: And *Marcianus Vitellius* was made chief Ruler over all his Freemen. But *Nymphidius Sabinus* at *Rome* not fair and leasurely, but violently at one pull, ingroft all business to himself; *C. Galba* being an old man, at least seventy three, and scarcely for Age, to be coacht to *Rome*. And not only so, but he inveigl'd the Army also, formerly inclin'd to him, but now his only Creatures, by his liberal distributions; they

they looking upon him as their sole benefactor, and *Galba* perfectly his debtor. Thus presuming on his interest, he strait commanded *Tigellinus* in joynt commission with himself, to lay down his arms, and making a noble treat, he invited the Proconsuls and cheif Commanders, making use of *Galba's* name to the invitation: he also prepar'd many of the army to declare that *Galba* ought to be sent to with a Petition, that *Nymphidius* might be sole Commander.

Moreover what the Senate acted, out of respect to him, styling him their Benefactor, and attending daily at his Gates, and giving him the complement of confirming their acts, carried him on to a greater degree of arrogance, that in a short time he became not only to be env'd but even dreaded by his adorers. When the Consuls themselves had dispatcht their Curriers with the decrees of the Senate to the Emperour sealed (whom the Magistrates of each Town took care to speed away with all convenience) he highly resented it, that it was done without his Warrant, and none of his Soldiers imploy'd on the Errand. Nay further, he deliberated what course to take with the Consuls themselves, but upon their submission and apology, he was at last pacified: To gratifie the people, he permitted them to beat out the brains of any malignant of *Nero's* party.

Amongst

Amongst others they murder'd one *Spicillius* a Fencer in the Market place, and threw him under *Nero's* Statu's, which they drag'd about the Street. *Apponius* they knockt down flat to the ground, and after drove loaded Carts over him, to make sure work, though he was one had accus'd *Nero*: and many others they tore in peices, some of 'em no way obnoxious, in so much that *Mauriscus*, a person deservedly of great account and quality, told the Senate that he fear'd in a short time, they might wish for *Nero* again. *Nymphidius* now advancing towards the consummation of his hopes, did not refuse the honour of being call'd *Cajus Cæsars* Son, Successor to *Tiberius*, *Cajus* who, as it is said, was well acquainted with his Mother in his youth, a woman indeed handsome enough, the Off-spring of *Kalisto*, one of *Cæsars* Freeman, and a certain Scamp-strefs. But it's plain that *Cajus's* familiarity with his Mother was of too late date for him to lay any claim to: but it was strongly suspected, he might if he pleas'd pretend to *Martianus* a gladiator, whom his Mother *Nymphidia* had a great kindness for; being a man of repute in his way, whom also he much resembled, however 'tis well he certainly own'd *Nymphidia* for his Mother. The downfall of *Nero* he ascrib'd to himself alone, and thought he

was

was not sufficiently rewarded with the honours and riches he enjoy'd; nay nor with *Sporus* (*Nero's* beloved darling) into the bargain, whom he immediately sent for at the interment of *Nero*, and carrels'd him as though he had been his Spouse, calling him *Poppæus*, but he must also aspire to the Empire, and by some Female Friends and Senators (wrought underhand) to assist him in the business. He dispatcht one *Gel. lianus* a Friend of his into *Spain* to view the posture of affairs; but all things succeeded well with *Galba* after *Nero's* death, only *Vir. ginius*, standing doubtful, created a jealousy in him, lest he should listen to the suggestions of some who encourag'd him, to take the Government upon him; having at present beside his Conquest over *Vindex*, the Command of a great Army, and reduc'd *Gaul* (a considerable part of the *Roman* Empire) when they seem'd wavering, and indeed, rather inclin'd to rebellion. No man surely had a greater name and reputation then *Virginius*, who in their great revolutions freed the *Romans* from Tyranny and a Gallic War.

But he standing to his first resolves reserv'd to the Senate the power of electing an Emperour; but when it was manifest that *Nero* was dead, the Souldiers prest him hard to it, and one of the Collonels

entring

entring his Tent with his drawn Sword, bidding him either take the Government or that. But after *Fabius Valens* having the command of a Regiment had first sworn fealty to *Galba*, and had Letters from *Rome* of the Resolves of the Senate with much ado he perswaded the Army to declare *Galba* Emperour. *Flaccus Hardonius* immediately, by his Commission, was sent to succeed him, to whom when he had consign'd his forces, he march't to meet *Galba*, and attend him on his Journey, who apparently shew'd him no displeasure, being under a little dread of him, nor yet much respect on the account of his Friends, chiefly *Titus Junius*, who enviously thinking to hinder *Virginius's* promotion, contributed much to his happiness, rescuing him from those hazards and hardships, the other Officers were involved in, which occasion'd him a quiet life, and a peaceable Old age. About *Narbon* a City in *Gaul*, some of the Senators met him by order of the House, and (after they had dispatch't their complements) beseech't him to make what haste he could to appear to the People, that impatiently expected him; whom he discours'd courteously and familiarly, but in his entertainment tho' *Nymphidius* had sent him both rich Provision and Attendants of

Nero's

Nero's, he laid all aside and made use of nothing but his own, which made him appear great, far above those little vanities. But in a short time *Junius* abusing his generous civil way of treating without pomp; terming it popularity, and a meer pretence to moderation unbecoming his Grandeur, perswaded him to make use of *Nero's* store, and make his Regal's Noble and Princelike; so that it soon appear'd that the Old man, had put himself under *Junius's* disposal; a Person excessive covetous, above all things, and not a little addicted to Women; for being a youngster newly entred into the Wars, under *Calvisius Sabinus*, he brought his Captains Wife a wanton dame in a Souldiers habit by Night into the Camp, and us'd her like a Leaguer Lady, even at the head Quarters; for which insolence, *C. Caesar* cast him into Prison, from whence he was fortunately deliver'd by his death: Being invited by *Claudius Caesar* to Supper, he privily convey'd away a Silver Cup: which *Caesar* hearing of, inviting him next Day, gave order to his Servants to set before him, nothing but Earthen ware; this mild rebuke seem'd Comical, and to be done rather in sport than displeasure. But what he acted covetously for his own advantage (having great power with *Galba*) was either the

real or seeming cause of many tragical and fatal mischiefs. Upon this account *Nymphidius* became very uneasie, upon the return of *Gellianus* out of *Spain*, who was sent to pry into *Galba's* actions, understanding that *Corn. Lacon* commanded the Emperours Guards, and that *Junius* was the great Favourite, and that he might not so much as come nigh, much less have any opportunity to offer any thing in private; so narrowly they watch't him with all caution imaginable: upon which he call'd together the Officers of the Army, and declar'd to 'em that *Galba* of himself was a fair square old Gentleman, but not taking his own measures, he was ill manag'd by *Junius* and *Lacon*: and lest, before they were aware, they should ingross the Authority *Tigellinus* had in the Army, he propounded to them to send Embassadors from the Camp, acquainting him that if he pleas'd to remove onely them two from his Counsel and Presence, he would be much more welcome and dear to all at his arrival: Wherein when he saw he did not prevail, (it seeming absurd and unmannerly to give Rules to an old Commander, what Friends to retain or displace, (as if he had been a Youth, newly taking the Reins of Authority into his hands): steering another course, he wrote complaining, deceitful

ful Letters; one while as if the City were unsettled, and had not yet put over some old grudge, and that *Clodius Macer* withheld the Provision from *Africa*, they so much rely'd on; and that the Forces in *Germany* began to be mutinous, and that he heard the like of those in *Syria & Judæa*. *Galba*, not minding him much, nor giving credit to his stories, resolv'd to surprize him; but one *Clodius Celsus* dissuaded him, averring that he could not believe one Family in *Rome* would ever give *Nymphidius* the Title of *Cæsar*.

Nevertheless many derided *Galba*, amongst the rest *Mithredates* of *Pontus*, saying, one of these days when this wrinkled bald coote shall appear publickly at *Rome*, they'l account it an utter disparagement ever to have had such an Emperour. At last it was resolv'd, about Midnight to bring *Nymphidius* into the Camp, and declare him Emperour: but *Antonius Honoratus* the first Collonel, summoning together in the evening those under his command, charg'd himself and them severely with their many and unreasonable turns, and alterations, without any regard to merit, as if some evil Genius hurry'd them from one Treason to another.

What tho Nero's miscarriages (says he) gave some colour to their former treachery yet what pretence have they to betray Galba? Has he kill'd his Mother, or murder'd his Wife.

Wife, or disparagd the Imperial Throne, by acting the Fools part on the Stage? Neither did we desert Nero for all this, till Nymphidius had perswaded us, that he had first left us, and fled into Ægypt, shall we therefore send Galba after, to appease Nero's Ghost; and designing the Son of Nymphidia Emperour, take off one of Livia's family, as we have already the Son Agrippina; rather doing justice to him, let us revenge Nero's death, and shew ourselves true and faithful by preserviñg Galba.

The Collonel having ended his harangue, the Souldiers assented, and encourag'd all they met with to persist in their fidelity to the Emperour: And indeed brought over the greatest part, but presently hearing a great shout, (*Nymphidius* imagining as some say) that the Souldiers call'd for him, or rather hastning to prevent their tumult and disorder, march'd towards the light, carrying in his hand a Speech in Writing made by *Ciconius Varro* which he read on purpose con'd to Wheedle the Souldiers, but seeing the Gates of the Camp shut up, and abundance arm'd about the Walls, he began to be afraid: yet drawing nearer, he demanded what they meant, and by whose orders they were then in arms; but hearing a General acclamation, all with one consent crying out we acknowledge none but *Galba* Emperour. He advancing

vancing towards them approv'd of what they did, and likewise commanded those that follow'd him to do the same. The Guard notwithstanding permitted him to enter the Camp only with a few, where he was presently saluted with a dart, which *Septimius*, being before, him receiv'd on his shield; others assailed him with their naked Swords, and pursu'd him into a Souldiers Cabbin, where they slew him, and dragging his Bodythence, they drail'd it about, and expos'd it next day to publique view, which when *Galba* heard of, he commanded that all his confederates that had not met with the same fate, should immediately be dispatcht; amongst whom were *Ciconius* (who made his Oration) and *Mithridates* formerly mentioned. But it seem'd to be arbitrary, and illegal, and tho it might be just, yet by no means popular, to take off men of their rank and quality without a fair hearing. Every one expected another Scheme of government, being deceived, as 'tis usual, by the first plausible pretences; But the death of *Petronius Tertulian*, tho' faithful to *Nero*, yet being a man of consular dignity, most of all concern'd them. Indeed the taking of *Macron* in *Africa* by *Trebonius*, and *Frontei* by *Valens* in *Germany* had a fair pretence, they being dreaded as armed men, having their Souldiers

at their devoir; but to deny *Tertulian* an oldman and unarm'd, to try to clear himself, was not agreeable to that moderation, and equity at first promis'd. These things reflected much upon *Galba*. When he came within three miles or thereabouts of the City, he hapned to light on a disorderly rable of Sea-men who had beset him in his pass. These were they whom *Nero* made Souldiers, ordering them into one division. They so rudely crowded to have their commission reinforc't in so much that they obstructed the sight of *Galba*, so that he could not salute those that came to accost their new Emperour; but tumultuously press'd on with loud shouts, to have colours to their Legion; and quarters assign'd them. But *Galba* put 'em off till another time, which they interpreting a denial, grew more insolent and mutinous, some of 'em with their drawn Swords in their hands; whereupon *Galba* commanded the Horse to ride over 'em, whereby they were soon routed, never a man standing his ground, and many of them were slain in the pursuit. An ill Omen, that *Galba* should make his first entry, through so much blood and slaughter. Now he became dreadful and terrible to those who formerly despis'd his infirm old age. When he attempted to make a clear alteration, and to

retrench *Nero's* profuseness in gifts, and extravagant expences, he much mist his aim and fell so short of State, that he came not within the compass of decency. Poor *Canus* an excellent Musician, playing all Supper time, receiv'd only a few Crowns from the Emperours own hand; with a large commendation, and this *Item*, that it was out of his own purse, and not on the Publique account. Besides he order'd *Nero's* liberal largesses to Actors, Fencers, and such like, to be strictly remanded, bateing only the tenths, tho' it turn'd to very small account, most of those persons expending their daily income, as fast as receiv'd, being a dissolute sort of men, he exacted also of those that entertain'd them, or made any advantage of 'em to refund. The trouble was infinite, the profit running into many hands, the Emperour thereby basely disparag'd, and *Junius* deservedly hated and malign'd, rendering *Galba* mean and despicable to others, whilst he only made advantage of all places and things about him. Yet never satisfi'd as *Hesiod* hath it,

Ἀρχομένη τε πίθε καὶ λείγοντες κορέσασθαι.

Junius seeing him old and decaying grasp'd at all, supposing his time short, his good fortune only appearing, and e'ne vanishing at the same instant.

Thus

Thus the old Gentleman was abused by *Junius's* male administration, either censuring or impeding all his just proceedings; such was the punishing *Nero's* adherents, when he destroy'd the bad (amongst whom were *Elias Polycletus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobis*, the People mightily applauded the act, crying out, as they were dragged through the Market place, *This is a goodly Jew, grateful even to the Gods themselves.*

But when the Gods, and Men demanded justice on *Tigillinus*, *Nero's* great Tutor and Manager of his Tyranny, *Junius* obstructed it being roundly brib'd by the Gentleman under hand: but *Tertullian*, he could not permit to escape with life, tho' he had done no great mischief (onely did neither betray nor envy *Nero* whilst Emperor) but dealt far otherwise with him, that made him obnoxious, even worthy of death, and afterwards deserted and betray'd him whom he had so corrupted: a great instance that *Junius* could do anything; and that those that had Money might despair of nothing. However the People were so fond of seeing *Tigillinus* drag'd to Execution, that they never ceased to require it at the Theatre, and all publick Places till they were checkt by an Edict of the Emperours, perswading them that *Tigillinus* could not live long, being much walled with a Con-

sumption, and desir'd that they would not make his Government appear Cruel and Tyrannical. So the dissatisfi'd Mobile were laught at, and *Tigillinus* made a splendid Feast and Sacrificed for his recovery. After Supper, *Titus Junius* rising from the Emperour went to revel it with *Tigillinus* taking his Daughter, a Widow, with him, to whom *Tigillinus* presented his Service with 250000 *l.* and commanded the Governels of his Concubines to take off a rich Necklace from her own and to tye it about hers, valued at 150000 *l.* Afterwards his more moderate acts began to be censur'd, as also his dealing with the *Gauls*, who were in the Conspiracy with *Vindex*; for they lookt upon their freedom, and abatement of taxes not so much the clemency of their Prince, as *Junius's* profit. Hence many began to malign the Government. But the Souldiers were kept on a while, in expectation of the donative he promis'd, supposing that if they did not receive the full, yet at least as much as *Nero* gave 'em. Afterwards *Galba* hearing they began to complain, declar'd greatly, and like a brave General, that he was us'd to make choice of, and not to buy his Souldiers, which when they heard of, they conceiv'd an implacable hatred against him, for he did not seem only to defraud 'em, and blast their present expec-

station

tations, but to give an ill precedent, and instruct his Successors to do the like. Their heart-burning, and caballing at *Rome* was as yet conceal'd, and that reverence they bore whil'st *Galba* was present somewhat retarded their motions, and took off their edge, finding no probable ground for disturbance, which somewhat curb'd their discontents for the present. Those that had been formerly under *Virginus*, and now under *Flaccus* in *Germany* valuing themselves much upon the ingagement with *Vindex*, and making no great advantage of it, grew very refractory and intractable towards their Officers, and *Flaccus* they undervalu'd being much indispos'd and unserviceable indeed, by the Gout; besides a man of little experience in military affairs.

At one of their solemn festivals when it was customary for the Officers of the army to wish all health and happiness to the Emperour, the common Souldiers began to mutiny, but they continuing their good wishes they cry'd out, he deserves it not, when the like insolence was committed several times by *Tigillinus's* forces. information was given *Galba* by the Procurators, whereupon suspecting that he might be despi'd, not only for his old age, but also for want of issue, he determin'd to adopt some young man of quality; and declare him his succe-

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for.

for. *Marc. Otho* was in his thoughts, a person of no mean extraction, but from his Childhood as scandalous as any for lewdness and debauchery, and as *Homer* terms *Paris* Ελένης πρῶτον ἀνέκομιστο, Fair *Helens* spruce Gallant, being remarkable for nothing else, his name was swallow'd up in hers. So *Otho* was notoriously talkt of for nothing more than his Marriage with *Poppea*, whom *Nero* had a kindness for, when she was *Crispinus's* Wife, but being as yet respectful to his own Lady, and paying a difference to his Mother, he engag'd *Otho* under hand to solicit her in his behalf. *Nero* you must know convers'd familiarly with *Otho*, making use of his prodigality, and was well pleas'd, when he took the freedom to droll on his thrifty penurious humour, reflecting both in words and actions; as when *Nero* one day perfuming himself with some rich essences favour'd *Otho* with a small sprinkle, and he treating *Nero*, next day in a Bravado, order'd gold and silver pipes to disperse the like on a sudden freely, like a mist throughout the room. As to *Poppea*, he was before hand with *Nero*, and anticipated his joys, and upon promise of *Nero's* favour, prevail'd with her to part with her Husband, and brought her to his own house as his Spouse, but was not content afterwards to have a share in her, but grudg'd to have

Nero

Nero for a Rival. *Poppæa* in the meantime was not concern'd at this their jealousy, and sometimes excluded *Nero* (when *Otho* was not present) either to make *Nero* the more sharp, or, as some say, being weary of his conversation, not approving a marriage with him: Howe're she did not quite slight his address, being gamefome enough, and well inclin'd: On the account of this match, *Otho* was in danger of his Life, and strange it was he escap'd, *Nero* having taken off his Wife, and Sister, to compass this design. But he was beholding to *Seneca's* friendship, by whose persuasions, and intreaty *Nero* was prevail'd with, to dispatch him, *Proprætor*, into *Lusitania*, towards the Sea coast, where he behav'd himself very obligingly towards all, full well knowing this command was but to colour and disguise his banishment.

When *Galba* revolted from *Nero*, *Otho* was the first Governour of any of the Provinces that came over to him, bringing what Utensils he had of gold and silver, which he presented to the mint; and also what Servants he had, rightly qualify'd, to wait upon a Prince, in all other points too he was faithful to him, and gave him sufficient proof that he was interiour to none, in managing publique business. By this time he had so far ingratiated himself, that

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he rode in the same Coach with him, the whole progress, and in his travels he mightily gain'd on *Junius*, both by his conversation, and presents; but especially by giving him the preference, he secur'd the next place, (by his interest) before all others. Neither was he at all envy'd, gratifying all mens requests freely; appearing courteous; and of easie access towards all, especially the Souldiers; many of whom he preferr'd to commands some of 'em immediately, by the Emperour; others by *Junius's* means; craving the assistance of the two favourites *Siculus* and *Asiaticus*. These were the men in power in all matters relating to Court, as oft as he entertain'd *Galba*, he gave his Guards their own Duty Crowns a piece, upon pretence of respect to the Emperour, but really with an intent to inveigle the Souldiers, and so out do him in his Politicks,

Galba consulting about a successour *Junius* introduc'd *Otho*, yet not gratis, but upon promise he would marry his daughter, if he were made his adopted Son, and Successour to the Empire; but *Galba* always declar'd that he preferr'd the publick good, before his own private interest, not aiming so much to please himself, as to advantage the *Romans*. Indeed he did not seem so much as inclin'd to make choice of *Otho*, to inher-

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it his own private fortune, knowing his extravagant lavish humour, and that he was already dipt 50000 *l.* thick.

So he gave *Junius* the hearing, but calmly suspended his determination without giving any answer, only appointed him Consul, and *Junius* his Colleague: yet it was the general Opinion, that he would declare him his Successor, at the beginning of the next year. Now the Army desired nothing more than that *Otho* should be the Person; but the Forces in *Germany* falling into a Mutiny whilst he was deliberating, prevented his design, for the Souldiers in general, had a picque against *Galba*, not having given 'em their expected largesse, yet they made a pretence of a more particular concern, as that *Virginus Rufus* was cast off dishonourably, and that the *Gauls* who ingag'd with them were well rewarded, the rest being punisht that joyn'd not with *Vindex*; to whom alone *Galba* paid his acknowledgment, and honour'd his Memory after his death with publick Solemnities, as tho' he had been constituted Emperor, by his means onely.

Whilst these discourses past openly throughout the Army; on the first of *January*, *Flaccus* summoning 'em to take the anniversary Oath of Fealty to the Emperour, they threw down *Galba's* Statues, and utterly defac'd 'em, afterwards having sworn

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sworn, in the name of the Senate and People they departed.

But their Commanders now fear'd Anarchy, and confusion, as much as their Apostacy and Rebellion: whereupon one of em stepping forth thus accosted them:

What will become of us, my fellow Souldiers, if we neither set up another General, nor retain the present one, seeming not so much to rescue our selves from Galba, as to decline all subjection, and be under no Command? Let us a while permit Flaccus Hordeonius as a cypher, a mere shadow, and image of Galba: But Vitellius, chief Commander of the lower Germany, is but one days march distant, whose Father was Censor, and thrice Consul, and as I may say, in a manner Co Emperour with Claudius Cæsar: he of all Men, in so great employ, gives the clearest proof of his bounty and largeness of mind, viz his poverty; how despicable soever it seems to some. Him let us make choice of, that all may see, we know how to choose an Emperour better than either the Spaniards or Lusitanians. Which motion whilst some assented to, and others gainsaid: a certain Ensign slip'd out, and carried the News to Vitellius, whilst he was treating much company by Night. This taking air, soon past through the Army; and Fabius Valens a principal Commander, riding before his full Troops next day, saluted

luted *Vitellius* Emperour. He seem'd to decline it, pretending a dread he had to undertake the Weight of the Government; but the next day by noon being well inclin'd by a plentiful repast; he began to yield, and submitted to take on him the Title of *Germanicus*, they gave him; but desir'd to be excus'd, as to that of *Cæsar*; immediately *Flaccus's* Souldiers laying aside their specious popular Oaths, imposed by the Senate, they swore obedience to *Vitellius* as Emperour, and to observe whatever commanded. Thus *Vitellius* was publickly own'd Emperour in Germany; which News coming to *Galba's* Ear, he no longer deserr'd his adoption; yet knowing many of his friends were inclin'd to *Dolabella*, but more to *Otho* (neither of whom he well approv'd of) on a sudden without any ones privacy, he sent for *Piso*, who was nearly related to *Crassus*, and *Piso* whom *Nero* slew) in whose natural temper eminently appear'd much modesty and gravity, and indeed all virtuous inclinations. Going then into the Camp he declar'd him his Successor to the Empire. But immediately many prodigious Omens appear'd from Heaven; and when he began to make a speech to the Souldiers, the frequent Claps of Thunder, and flashes of Lightning, and a dismal black storm covering both the Camp

Camp and City, were plain discoveries, that the Heavens did not favour this adoption. The Souldiers also seem'd dissatisfied by their sullen looks; seeing nothing of the wonted distributions, on such occasions. Those that were present and observ'd *Piso's* Countenance and Voice admir'd to see him no more surpriz'd, tho he seem'd not insensible of so great a favour.

On the other hand *Otho* appear'd full of sadness and disturbance at his disappointment, as being once thought worthy, and e'ne ready to be invested in his good Fortune, and now to be put by was a shrewd sign of the displeasure and ill will of *Galba* toward him. This fill'd him with fears and jealousies, and grievously perplext his Mind, whilst he dreaded *Piso*, hated *Galba*, and was full of wrath and indignation against *Junius*. But the *Chaldeans* and South-sayers about him, would not permit him to lay aside his hopes, or quit his design, chiefly *Ptolemaeus*, much relying upon a Prediction, that *Nero* should not murder him, but he himself should die first, and *Otho* succeed as Emperour. Now the first proving true, he thought he ought not distrust the rest; but none exasperated him more, than those that seem'd privately to pity his hard Fate, to be so ungratefully

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dealt with by *Galba*, especially *Nymphidius's* and *Tigellinus's* Creatures, who were now cast off, and reduc'd to their former state; these seem'd highly to resent this indignity put upon him: amongst whom were *Venturius* and *Barbius*, the one term'd *Optio*, (the Captain assistant) the other *Tesserarius*, the Person intrusted with setting the Watch, and giving the Word: Amongst them *Onomastus*, one of *Otho's* Freemen went to the Camp to tamper with the Army, and brought over some with Money, others with fair promises, which was easily done, they being already corrupted, and onely wanting a fair pretence; it had been otherwise, more than the work of Four days (which happened betwixt the Adoption and Massacre) thus totally to have infected a sound Army, so as to cause a general revolt. They were assassin'd Feb. 15. on which Day in the Morn, *Galba* Sacrificed in his Palace, in the Presence of his Friends, when *Umbricius* the Priest, taking up the entrails and predicting not darkly, and by conjecture, but manifest ill boding Omens of great troubles ensuing, and dangerous Snares laid for the Life of the Emperour.

Thus *Otho* had e'ne been discovered by the finger of God; but being just behind *Galba*, attending diligently to the South-sayers

slayers Lecture, his countenance chang'd for fear, and he betray'd no small concern; which *Onomastus* observing, acquainted him that one of the Master Builders waited for him at home: (now that was the signal for *Otho* to meet the Souldiers) pretending then, that he had purchased an old house, and was going to shew the defects to those that sold it: he departed and passing by *Tiberius's* house (as they call'd it) he stept into the Market Place, nigh the Golden Pillar, where all the several *Italian* ways center, where 'tis reported no more then twenty five receiv'd him, and saluted him Emperour; which put him to a stand, though not out of any effeminacy, being in his nature bold, and hardy enough, in hazardous adventures: but the Soldiers that were present, would not suffer him to recede; but with their drawn Swords about his Chair, commanded the Bearers to take him up, whom he hastned on, though in the mean time, he said to himself, I am a lost man. Those who overheard him rather admir'd then were concern'd at the inconsiderable number that attempted such an enterprize. But, as they march't on, about as many more met him, and here and there three or four at a time adjoyn'd themselves. Thus returning towards the Camp, with their Arms in their hands, they cry'd out

out a *Cæsar*, a *Cæsar*; whereupon one *Martius*, who commanded the Guards, who was no ways privy to it, being surpriz'd at the unexpectedness of the thing, permitted him entrance; and afterwards no man made any resistance, for they that knew nothing of the design, being purposely encompassed by the Conspirators, as they were stragling here and there: first submitted for fear, and after were perswaded into a compliance. This came presently to *Galba's* ear in his Palace, whilst the Priest was intent on the Sacrifice, as yet holding the entrails in his hand, so that they who usually slighted those matters, were astonisht, and began to admire the prodigious Omen. The Mobile ran confus'd from the Market upon the report: but *Junius Lacon*, and some of his freemen Guarded him, with their drawn Swords, *Piso* instantly made to the band of Pensioners, who were the Royal Guard. *Marius Celsus*, that stout man, was dispatcht to the Illyrian Squadron, who were planted at *Vipsanus*, to secure that Post. *Galba* now consulting whether he should quit his Palace, *Junius* dissuading him, but *Celsus* and *Lacon* encourag'd him by all means to come forth; and sharply reprimanded *Junius* for his pains. But on a suddain a rumour came hot that *Otho* was slain in the Camp; immediately appear'd one *Julius Atticius*, an

eminent Officer of the Guard with his drawn Sword, crying out, that he had slain great *Cæsars* Enemy; and pressing thro' the Crowd that stood in his way, he presented himself before *Galba* with his bloody Weapon; who looking on him, demanded, who commanded him so to do? My fidelity, says he, and the Oath I have taken to be true to the Emperour. Which action when the people applauded, giving loud acclamations, *Galba* was carry'd out in his Chair to sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and so to shew himself publicly: but coming into the Market Place (the tide being turn'd) a report met him that *Otho* had made himself master of the Camp; but as usually in such a Crowd, some call'd to him to return back, others to move forward, some encourag'd him to be bold, and fear nothing; others to be cautious, and distrust his circumstances: Thus whilst his Chair was tost to and fro, (as it were on the waves) often tottering, there appear'd first Horse, and straightways Foot, fromwards *Paulus's* Portico with one accord crying out; down with this private man: at which the Rabble hurried confusedly; not as if they intended to disperse, but to possess themselves of the Porches, and bulks in the Market Place, as if it were to some strange sight in the Theatre. And as soon as *Attilius Sarcelio* overturn'd *Galba's* Statue, they immediately fell

to open hostility, and threw their darts at *Galba's* Chair: but missing their aim, they attack'd him nearer hand, with their naked Swords; and no man offer'd to stand up in his defence, save only *Sempronius Indistrus*; a Captain, the only man of so many thousands, that the Sun beheld that day, worthy the *Roman* Empire, who though he had never been oblig'd by *Galba*, yet out of bravery and allegiance, he endeavour'd to defend him from their insolent assaults: first lifting up his commanding staff, (with which they use to correct the Soldiers when disorderly) he call'd aloud to the aggressours, charging 'em to forbear the Emperour: but presently being environ'd, he guarded a long time with his Sword till at length (having receiv'd many a wound) he grew weak in the ^{ῥοις τὰς}hams and fairly dropt and overthrowing *Gal*^{ῖννας, &}*ba's* Chair at a place call'd *Curtius's* Lake, they ^{πρὸς}slew him as he lay tumbling in his arms: He boldly offer'd his Throat, bidding them strike there, if it were for the *Romans* good, many a wound he receiv'd on his Legs and Arms, and at last was slain (as most say) by one *Camurius* one of the fifteenth Legion; some name *Terentius*, others *Arcadius*, and there are others that say it was *Fabius Fabulus*, who as 'tis reported bore away his head privily in the skirt of his Garment, being unable to take hold of it by reason of his baldness.

His associates not suffering him to conceal this manly act, by their perswasion, peircing the head of this grave Prince, he march'd twirling and flourishing with it, on his bloody Spear, like one of *Bacchus's* frolick Preists. But when they brought the head to *Otho*, *Fellow Souldiers*, says he, *this is nothing unless you shew me Piso's too*, which was presented him not long after. The young man retreating upon a wound receiv'd, was pursu'd by one *Marcus*, and slain before the Temple of *Vesta*. *Titus Junius* was also dispatch'd out of the way, who confess'd himself privy to the Conspiracy against *Galba*, only he cry'd out that he dy'd contrary to *Otho's* pleasure, and without his privity, however they cut off his head and *Lacons* too, and brought 'em to *Otho*, requesting a boon: and as *Archilocus* says, When six or seven lay breathless on the ground, 'twas I, 'twas I, say thousands, gave the wound. Thus many that had no hand in his murder with bloody Hands and Swords presented *Otho* with their Petition for a gratuity, whom *Vitellius* found out after, to the number one hundred and twenty, and requir'd with the loss of life. Not long after came *Marius Celsus* into the Camp, whom sundry accus'd of encouraging the Souldiers to assist *Galba*; the Rabble requir'd justice, but *Otho* refusing to gratifie their fury; yet fearing

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an absolute denial, he pretended it was not his interest, to take him off so soon, having many matters yet to sift out of him, but committed him safe to the custody of those he most confided in.

Forthwith a Senate was conven'd, and as if they were not the same men, or had other Gods to swear by, they took an Oath in *Otho's* name (as himself had in *Galba's*, which how religiously he kept it plainly appears,) and withal conferr'd on him the titles of *Cæsar* and *Augustus*; whilst the dead Carcasses of the slain lay yet in their Robes in the Market Place. As for their heads, when they could make no other use of them, *Junius's* they sold to his Daughter for 2500 *Drachma's*. *Piso's* was begg'd by his Wife of one *Veranius*. *Galba's* they gave to *Patronius's* and *Vitellius's* Servants; but when they had 'em, after all sorts of abuse and indignities, they tumbld 'em into that vile place, where *Cæsars* enemies that suffer death, are usually cast, call'd *Sestertium*. Indeed *Galba's* body was convey'd away by *Priscus Helvidius* by *Otho's* permission, and buried in the night by *Argius* his Freeman. Thus you have the History of *Galba*, a person inferiour to few Romans, either for birth or riches, rather exceeding all of his time in both: he liv'd in great credit and reputation in the reign of five Emperours, he ruin'd *Nero* rather

Quid ab
urbe semi-
terris mili-
ari distat.

ther by his fame and vogue in the World, then by force and power.

Of those that put in for the Empire, at that time, none judg'd any worthy (though some thought themselves so) save only *Galba* whom they elected, and created Emperour, whose authority was such, that but lending his name to *Vindex's* defection from *Nero*, what was call'd Rebellion before, was term'd now only a civil War, they being transported with the thoughts of a person fit to Govern. He design'd not so much to take business to himself as to give himself up to business, thinking to reduce those that were meerly wheadl'd by *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius*; as *Scipio*, *Fabrinus*, and *Camillus*, had regulated the Souldiers of their time: but being now e'ne worn out with age, he was become a weak superannuated Emperour. And giving himself up as *Nero* had before him, to those insatiable covetous Varlets, *Junius* and *Lacon*, (who made a gain of all things) he quite lost himself to that degree, that though many pitt'y'd his fate, yet none desir'd to live under his Government.

Τετιδας.
σευμενος.

M. SYLVIVS OTHO.



(739)

THE
LIFE
OF
OTH O:

Translated from the Greek,

By THO. BEAUMONT, M. A.
And late fellow of *New Coll. Oxon.*

The New Emperour *Otho* about
break of day went out to sacri-
fice in the Capitol, and command-
ing *Marius Celsus* to be brought to him,
he took him and imbraced him in his Arms,
using kind speeches, and advising him ra-
ther to forget the cause of his confinement,
then to remember his enlargement: To
which *Celsus* reply'd ingeniously and sharp-
ly, that his Crime would give an assurance
of his integrity, and he security for his be-
haviour,

havior, for that it was imputed to him, as a Crime, that he had been faithful to *Galba* and yet no favourite, upon this they were both admired by those that were present, and applauded by the whole Camp.

After he had made a long Oration in the Senate, wherein he discoursed of many things with great popularity, he began to settle the affairs of State, and therefore as to the remainder of his own Consulship, that part he committed to the care of *Virginius Rufus* his Colleague; but as to others design'd for that Office by *Nero* or *Galba* he made no change. The grave and reverend among the people either in respect of age or dignity he adorn'd with the Priesthood; And for those Senators who had been banished by *Nero*, and return'd under *Galba*, to them he restored, what was left undisposed of, their Fortunes. Inasmuch that the Nobility and Gentry who at first had great fears and jealousies upon them, (imagining that it was not an humane Creature but some fury or bloody Fiend that was seizing the Empire) now became more pleasant, being sweetned with the hopes of a Reign that seemed to smile upon them.

At the same time nothing was so well-come, nothing gain'd him the hearts of all the *Romans* so as the business of *Tigillinus*,

nus, a man that lay under all the torments of Soul and Body, for he was punisht with the very fear of punishment, which the whole City exacted as a debt due to publick Justice; and he labour'd likewise under incurable diseases of Body, which he had contracted by his insatiable lust with corrupt Women, a vice that raign'd in him to the last moment of his Life: And tho' wisemen thought this vice together with its fatal consequences to be punishment enough, and equal with many deaths, yet it grieved the people, that he should enjoy the benefit of the Sun, when so many and such brave men had been deprived of it by his means. Wherefore *Otho* sent after him into the Country of *Simeria*, where he lurk't with several Vessels ready to carry him off upon any danger; He attempted to corrupt the Messenger that apprehended him, and offer'd great sums of money for his escape, and though his attempts were in vain, yet he gave the same reward as if he had escaped; but withal he intreated him only to tarry a little till he was shaved, whereupon he took the Razor and cut his own throat. Thus did *Cæsar* gratifie the People by doing justice to the publick, without the least discovery of his own private revenge.

At first out of a popular humour he did

did not decline the Name and title of *Nero*, but was saluted so in the Theater; neither did he oppose them that brought out *Nero's* Statues to open view: Nay farther *Claudius Rufus* tells us, that several Patents were sent expresse into *Spain*, wherein the famous Name of *Nero* was used as an additional Title to the Name of *Otho*: Not but that as soon as he found it offensive to the Nobility he left it off.

In this manner he began to lay the foundations of his Government, when his guards grew discontented, advising him not to confide in the Nobility, but rather to withdraw himself, and forbid them his presence. This they did, either out of good will as being really afraid, or out of design to set the Empire in a Combustion.

But this is certain touching *Crispinus*, (who with the 17th. Band had orders to apprehend certain suspected persons) as he was loading his Waggon by Night with Arms and Ammunition, some of the boldest among the Souldiers cry'd out, that *Crispinus* had no good intentions in this Act, that the Senate was hatching New Plots, and that those arms were prepared against *Cæsar*, not for him. This report being given out among the common Souldiers, it set them all on fire, that some laid hands on the Carriage, and others slew
Crispinus

Crispinus himself with two more *Centurians* which opposed them; and all falling to their Arms, and encouraging each other to assist the Emperour, marched furiously to *Rome*; and having intelligence that four-score of the Senate were at Supper in the Palace they went on thither; declaring that now was the time wherein they might at once take off all *Cæsars* Enemies. This put the City into a great consternation, as if they were to be sack'd immediately; In the Court they did nothing but run up and down, and even *Otho* himself was not a little perplexed; fearing his guests, and fearful for them: whom he saw with Eyes fixed upon him speechless and trembling, some having brought their Wives a long with them to supper. Whereupon at the same instant he ordered the Captains of the Guard to pacifie and entertain the Souldiers with fair speeches, while the Guests rose from Table, and were let out at another door. They were but just escaped when the Guard press'd into the Room, asking what was become of *Cæsars* Enemies? *Otho* then rising and address'd himself to them, sparing neither words, entreaties, nor tears, and yet he could scarce perswade them to go back. On the morrow after he had bestowed a Largeſs of fifteen hundred and fifty Drachmes a man, he

he went into the Camp; where he took occasion to commend the Loyalty and readiness of the Souldiers in general. But withal telling them that there were some few disaffected persons amongst them, who had abused his Clemency and their fidelity, and therefore desires that they would assist him in the punishing of them, all approved and consented to this motion, however he himself was well satisfied in the Execution of two Villains only, such as no body could lament. The Publick Censure of these proceedings was various, some who already began to love and credit him, were full of wonder at such a change: Some again look'd upon it as a seasonable piece of policy made use of only in this juncture of affairs to win the People over to his side against the War.

For now it was no longer doubted that *Vitellius* had assumed the Imperial Title and Command. Courriers came flocking in apace; some with Intelligence of Parties falling into *Vitellius*: Others that the *Pannonian*, *Dalmatian*, and *Myrian* Commanders and Forces sided with *Otho*: And these were presently seconded with kind Letters from *Mutianus* and *Vespasian*, the Generals over two puissant Armies, one in *Syria* and the other in *Judea*. This set him up so, that he wrote to *Vitellius* advising him
to

to keep within his private Station, and offering, besides great treasure, the freedom of the City where he might repose the rest of his days in pleasure and security. This at first was answer'd only in raillery; but being heated they fell to downright railing and libelling. 'Twas idle and ridiculous, though not without ground, to object those faults from which neither could be excused. For which of these two exceeded in rioting and wantonness, which of them had least experience in Arms, or which of them before they usurped had been most oppress'd with Poverty and debt, was a question not easie to determine.

Of the Prodigies and Apparitions that went about at this time; some were vouch'd only by report: But these were generally taken notice of, how the Statue of *Victory* Triumphant in the Capitol had let loose the reins of her Chariot, as unable to hold them: And how that other of *Caius Cæsar* in the Island of *Tiber* without either Earthquake or Whirlwind turn'd it self from West to East, which by conjecture fell out near the time when *Vespasian* publicly took upon him the Government. But none of these presages moved the multitude like the accident of *Tyber*. It was indeed the season when Rivers use to be full, but now it so swell'd above its Banks, and made
such

such desolation, overflowing, and covering great part of the City, especially about the Corn Market, that it occasion'd a sore dearth for many days.

When it became known that *Vitellius* his Captains *Cæcinna* and *Valens* had possess'd themselves of the *Alpes*, *Dolabella*, a *Patrician* then in *Rome*, was suspected by the guard of attempting some innovations therefore (whether fearing him, or any other) *Otho* sent him with assurance of his favour, to the City of *Aquinum*. Among the Magistrates, which were chosen to attend him in his journey, he pitch'd upon *Lucius* the Brother of *Vitellius*, whom he confirm'd altogether in his former Station: And took exceeding care of *Vitellius's* Mother and Wife, that they might not apprehend any danger from him. *Rome* he left in the hands of *Flavius Sabinus*, Brother to *Vespasian*, either out of Honour to *Nero* (by whom he had been placed in that command, and outed by *Galba*) or by *Sabinus's* advancement, to evidence his esteem and reliance on *Vespasian*.

Otho himself staid at *Brixillum* a City on the River *Po*, but he sent out the Army, under the Conduct of *Marcus Celsus*, *Suetonius*, *Paulinus*, *Gallus* and *Spurina*; men of Conduct and Valour, but they had no Forces to put their own Counsels in Action, because
of

of the disorders and insolency of the Souldier, who owning no other Captain than *Cæsar* thought it beneath their quality, to be commanded by any but himself. Neither were the Enemies troops much better disciplined, or more tractable to their Officers, but heady and proud upon the same account. Only they were well train'd, and accustomed to labour which they could away with. But these *Pretorians* were grown perfectly effeminate by Idleness and want of exercise, having spent most of their time in sights, entertainments and plays. And yet they were so puff'd up with conceit and arrogance, that they challenged their reward as the best, when their service was of the worst. *Spurina* once would have forced them upon Duty, but it brought his person in danger, and had almost cost him his life. Besides they spared for no sort of outrage and ill language, calling him Traytor and charging him with ill Conduct to the ruin of *Cæsar* and his affairs, some of them moreover in a debauch press'd into his Tent, demanding a pass while they went to make complaint against him to the Emperour.

But the reproaches of the *Vitellians* at *Placentia* did not a little help the Cause, and *Spurina* too for the present. For they marching straight up to the works upbraided

ded *Otho's* men upon the Walls, terming them expert Actors, Dancers, and Spectators of harmless exercises, but strangers to Martial Discipline and the Art of War: Men that valued themselves for beheading a naked Gray beard (meaning *Galba*) but had not the heart to enter the open Field with men at Arms. Which scoffs so nettled and heated them, that falling down at *Spurina's* feet they besought him to make use of them, and command them that would stick at no pains or peril. So, when the Walls were assaulted very strongly, and many Engines of Battery were brought up *Spurina's* men got the day, and having beat off the Enemy with great slaughter, preserved one of the most flourishing and renowned Cities in *Italy*.

As to all other points, *Otho's* Commanders were much less burdensome both to Cities and private Men, than those of *Vitellius*, of whom *Cæcinna* was no ways acceptable in speech or behaviour, but uncouth and disagreeable, of a Monstrous bigness, dress'd after the Gallic mode, in *Doublet* and *breeches*; and after that fashion he convers'd with the *Roman* Officers.

His Lady too in a magnificent equipage follow'd the Camp on horseback with a choice guard of Cavalliers. As to *Fabius Valens* the other General; neither the Enem-

mies

mies spoil, nor Countries plunder, nor the Confederates Contribution were able to satisfy his avarice. Yet for the Collection hereof he was by some concluded so to slacken his March, that he could not come up at the former skirmish: While others blame *Cæcinna* of charging too soon, that he might have the honour of the day to himself, and whereas before he had given distaste by some miscarriages, now by joyning battle with so little Conduct and Courage, he had almost ruin'd his party.

Cæcinna after this repulse from *Placentia*, carried the Siege to *Cremona* another flourishing and large City; while *Annius Gallus* in his march to relieve *Spurina* in *Placentia*, meeting upon the way with intelligence both of that action, and the distress of *Cremona*, wheel'd about and pitch'd down close by the enemy; and after that every one came in to aid the General. But when *Cæcinna* had laid a strong party in wait among certain uneven coverts, ordering the horse to advance, and after the first charge to make a slow retreat till they might draw the Enemy within the ambuscade, certain disseters discover'd it to *Celsus*; who charging them briskly, and pursuing them warily came upon the Ambuscade, which he surrounded and broke in pieces, sending away for the Infantry out

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of the Camp: Which if it had arrived in time to second the horse, it is more than probable that the Enemies could not have saved a man of *Cæcinnæ's* whole Army from being cut off, or trodden under foot. But *Paulinus* coming up late and slowly with his Succours was not undeservedly, taxed of too much circumspection for one of his Character. The Common Souldiers openly accused him of absolute treason, exasperating *Otho* against him, and boasting that the Enemy was defeated; but if the Victory was not entire he might thank his Captains. *Otho*, though he gave credit to these suggestions, yet would not seem to distrust his Commanders; Therefore he sent to the Army his Brother *Titianus* as General, with *Proculus* Captain of the Guard, who indeed had the power, and *Titianus* only the Name. *Celsus* and *Paulinus* had the Title of Councillours and Friends, but shared nothing of the management.

All things likewise were full of confusion among the Enemies, particularly in *Valens* his Camp, who hearing of the rancountre at the *Ambuscade*, grew out of all patience that they should not be there to relieve so many brave persons as fell upon the spot: So that *Valens* having much ado to persuade and keep them from revenging it upon himself, was forced to dislodge and joyn with *Cæcinnæ*. Here.

Hereupon *Otho* arrived at *Bebriacum*, a Village near *Cremona*, to consult about giving battle. *Proculus* and *Titianus* were for fighting, while the Souldiers were in heart with their late success, and not by sitting still to blunt their Courage, and give *Vitellius*, leisure to come upon them out of Gaul. *Paulinus* on the contrary, affirm'd that the Enemies whole force was there without the least recruit, whereas *Otho* might expect an Army out of *Myfia* and *Pannonia*, no whit inferiour to that in the Field, if he would but stay his own time, and not serve his Enemies occasions, neither was it likely that the Spirit of those few Souldiers should be lessened by the encrease of more forces, but rather that the supply would add to their assurance. Over and above this; delay made for the *Othonians*, who lived at home in absolute plenty; While the *Vitellians*, lodging in an Enemies Country, must encrease their wants with their stay. *Celsus* concurr'd with *Paulinus*. *Annius Gallus* was absent, and under cure by a fall from his horse. Yet *Otho*, consulting him by Letter, received the same advice, not to be forward, but wait the *Myfian* Forces, which were already on the March. However *Otho* deaf to these, inclined to that side which held for a Battail.

There are several reasons given for this

Result in which few men agree. This is plainly one. The *Pretorians* and the Life-guard (having then a taste of War in good earnest, and so much the more lingering after the delicacies and quiet diversions of *Rome*.) could not be kept in, clamouring for a fight, as if at the very first course they had been able to overrun their Enemies. Neither did *Otho* himself seem tough enough to hold out in such uncertainty; or (so soft, so little used was he!) to struggle with thoughts of such danger; but, quite broke with care, he shut his eyes as one that leaps from a precipice, and spurr'd on to trust fortune with his All. This account gives *Secundus* the Orator, and Secretary to *Otho*. According to some other relations, it was more than once moved in both Armies to joyn, and especially that with one consent they might elect the best of the Captains then present, or in case of disagreement, to call a Senate upon the place, and submit the choice of the Emperour to them. Neither is it unlikely that the right, experienced, and understanding Souldiers (having no extraordinary favour for either of the contesting Emperours) might fall upon such projects. For what could be more detestible, and grievous, than wilfully to embrace those miseries, which the *Romans* groan'd under long ago; while they

they were cutting of throats for *Sylla* and *Marius*, and since that for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; only that the Empire might serve the gluttony and drunkenness of *Vitellius*, or the Luxury and tenderness of *Otho*? It is supposed, that *Celsus* out of some such meaning sought to spin out the time; as hoping to decide the point without the pains of an encounter, as on the contrary, that *Otho* suspecting his design, made haste to engage.

Upon this resolve *Otho* himself return'd back to *Brixillum* by another grand mistake, not only in withdrawing his presence from the eyes of his Champions, who did even adore and dote on him; but in carrying back for his Horse and Foot Guard, the stoutest and most resolute of his Men, he plainly cut off the body of his Army.

About that time there happened a skirmish at the River *Po*, which *Cæcinnus* sought to pass by a bridge of boats. *Otho's* men to oppose; yet gaining little by plain force, they threw Fire-brands daub'd with pitch and brimstone into the Vessels, which the Wind taking as they fell, suddenly kindled and blew into the faces of the Enemies; who being first troubled with the smoke, and then with the flame, leap'd into the water, overturning the floats, and exposing their Bodies with derision to the Enemy,

my. But the *Germans* attacking *Otho's* Gladiators in a small Island upon the River, defeated and cut off a great Party. Whereupon, the *Othonians* that were at *Bebriacum*, being transported with fury to revenge it, *Proculus* led them forth, about fifty furlongs before he encamped; and withal so inconsiderately and ridiculously, that even in the Spring, and the fields round about full of Rivulets and Currents, yet they were distress'd for Water. On the morrow, when he would have led them at least twice as far against the Foe, *Paulinus* put a stop, declaring in his opinion that they ought rather to keep their Station, and not harass themselves, nor just upon a long March with their Baggage to engage the Enemy that would be armed and ranged at leisure. In the midst of this Dispute among the Commanders a *Numidian* came post from *Otho* bringing Orders, without stop or stay to lead straight upon the Enemy which incontinently they did.

Cæcinnus was surprized at the News of their approach, and leaving hastily his works at the River, he return'd into the Camp. *Valens* having posted great part of his Army, and given the word, sent out a choice Forelorn of Horse to amuse the Enemy, whilst he drew up the Legions. *Otho's* Van were possess'd with belief from

a flying report, that *Vitellius* his Captains would come over to them. Therefore, when they drew near, they saluted them by the friendly term of Fellow Souldiers; which not being answer'd by the others with civility, but with an angry, hostile murmur, both discouraged them that had given the salute, and fill'd the rest with suspicion of treason. This began a disorder at the very first charge, which was spread throughout the Field, not a little confounded by the cumbersome Carriages, they received also no small disadvantage, from the place of Battle full of ditches and trenches, to avoid which they were forced to change their Order, and fight one among another as they could compass it in little Parties. Two only Legions, that called *Rapax* for *Vitellius*, and *Adjutrix* for *Otho*, being drawn out in a Champain, fought fairly a long time. *Otho's* Men were lusty and valiant, but in their Apprenticeship, *Vitellius's* old and experienc'd Souldiers. *Otho's* Men therefore charged hotly, gain'd ground, knock'd down the foremost, and took one of their Eagles. Shame and rage drove the others back upon them again, and with the death of *Orphidius* the Collonel, they surpris'd divers of *Otho's* Eagles in revenge for their own. The Gladiators, Men of no small credit for

courage and address, were attack'd by *Varus Alphenus* his *Batavians*, the flower of the *German* Horse, which were drawn from the Islands of the *Rhine*, in the Low Countries. A few of the *Gladiators* stood their ground, but the gross, making away for the River, fell into an Ambuscade, which cut them off every man. But of the whole Army none came near the *Pretorians* for Cowardise; they took their heels without a stroke struck, and flying thro' their own men, with trouble and affright routed the Squadrons that stood firm. They did not all so indeed; for many of the *Othonians* bare down their opposites, and by fine force making way through the Conquerours, repass'd to their Camp: Which neither *Proculus* nor *Paulinus* durst retreat to, fearing the Souldiers, who already turn'd the fault upon them.

Annius Gallus received the flying Troops into the Town, and heartened them up with comfortable assurances, that the Victory was not clear to the Enemy, but that in several parts the advantage was on their side: But *Marius* calling the Officers to a Council; Required them to take care of the Common-Wealth: That after such a blow, and such a slaughter of *Roman* Citizens, *Otho* himself, having any goodness left, would not further tempt Fortune;
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in a Case where *Cato* and *Scipio*, who by not submitting to *Cæsar* after the *Phasian* Victory, are charged to have thrown away the Lives of many goodmen in *Africa* without reason, even when the Liberty of *Rome* was at Stake. For though otherwise Fortune make sport with all Men alike, yet one thing a good Man can never be deprived of, even in adversity, to take good Counsel against accidents. These reasons weigh'd first with the Commanders; and after, upon trial, with the Souldiers, no less urgent for an Accommodation.

Titianus then moved for Commissioners to be sent with proposals of accord; whereupon it was thought fit, that *Celsus* and *Gallus* should go to treat with *Caccinna* and *Valens*. Being on the rode they were met by certain of *Vitellius's* Centurions, who told them that their Army was already in motion for *Bebriacum*, and that they themselves were sent by the Generals with like Overtures of peace. *Celsus* commending the design, entreated their company back to meet *Caccinna*. As they drew near *Celsus* ran no small risque. For the Vant-Curriers hapning to be the same Horse, that had been worsted at the Ambuscade: Upon the first sight of *Celsus* with a loud cry they spur'd up against him

him. But while the Centurions step'd between to restrain them, and their Captains also call'd out to forbear, *Cæcinna* gallop'd up to know the cause of that tumult, which having appear'd he caress'd *Celsus* as a Friend, and rode with him to *Bebriacum*. In the mean time *Titianus*, repenting of his motion for amity, placed the most resolute of his men upon the Walls, and exhorted the rest to assist them. But when *Cæcinna* rode up, and reach'd out his right hand, all resistance laid aside, they that stood on the ramparts saluted his Soldiers, the rest opening the Gates went out and mixed with the New comers. There was then no further outrage; nothing but friendship and embraces: for all the Town swore fealty to *Vitellius*, and went over to him.

Such was the issue of the Battel as it is related by most of the present actors therein, yet confessing themselves in such Tumult and Confusion to have no clear account of particulars. So as I was afterward travelling over the Field, *Mestrius Florus* of the Consular degree shew'd me an Old man, who was then press'd for *Otho* among the youths: Who declared that going out after the Action was over he saw an heap of bodies as high as a man, but the cause of it he could neither find out,

nor

nor learn by Enquiry. Only it is probable that in Civil Wars more perish in the Chase than are taken, where there is no benefit by Captives. Therefore all we can have either of these matters amounts to no more than Conjecture.

Otho at first (as it is usual) received a dubious relation of the success; but after that the wounded, which escaped out of the fight, brought him certain news of the defeat, a man would admire what pains they took to encourage and keep him from despair. But the passion of the Guards surmounts all credit, that they should neither leave him, nor fall off to the conquerour, nor seem to provide for themselves in their Prince's extremity; but all together came to the door of his Apartment, stiling him Emperour. When he came abroad they followed him with acclamations, as if he went in Triumph, they kiss'd his hands after the manner of Petitioners, they threw themselves at his feet, they shed tears, and with all the force of an humble and dutiful Importunity, they besought him not to forsake them, not to betray them to the Enemy, but while they had breath, to employ their Souls, and their Bodies in his cause. Thus did they in general assault him with supplications. In particular, one of the lowest rank, who has not so much

as

as a Name in History, drew out his Sword, and calling aloud to him, *Behold, Cæsar, an Example of our Fidelity, thus are we all resolved to serve thee!* he ran himself thro'. Yet none of all this made any impression upon *Otho*. Who with a serene, and composed Aspect casting his eyes round about upon them all, 'This my fellow Souldiers, 'said he, this day wherein you do your 'selves and me, such Honour is much more 'fortunate, of much greater account to me, 'than that wherein you first saluted me Emperor. One thing only I prefer, which 'I beseech you withhold not from me, to 'Sacrifice my life for the safety of such brave 'men. If ever I was worthy of the *Roman* 'Empire, it becomes me to devote my Life 'for it. I know the Enemies Victory to be 'neither compleat, nor assured. I have intelligence that the *Myssian* Army is within 'a few days march. *Asia, Syria, Ægypt* 'are in their descent to the Coast of *Adria*. 'With us is the Army that wars in *Judea*, 'with us is the Senate, with us are the Wives 'and Children of the Enemies. But alas! 'this is no defensive War; this is not to save 'Italy from *Hannibal*, or *Pyrrhus*, or the *Cimbri*, 'but here *Romans* encounter *Romans*, and 'both alike, the Conquerors and the Conquered, tear up their Mothers bowels, 'for where indeed the success of the Van-

quisher

'quisher brings affliction to the Republick; 'Believe it! There can be nothing so much 'Honour in my Reign, as in dying often, 'if I could do it for my Country. Neither 'can I apprehend how a Victory on my side 'can be of such advantage to *Rome*, as to 'give up my self an offering for Peace and 'Concord; and that *Italy* may not see such 'another day.

When he said this, and set himself against all entreaty and Mediation, he desired his Friends, and the Senators that were present to leave him. He wrote also to the absent, and sent Letters to the Cities to let them pass with Honour and Security.

Then calling to him *Cocceius* his Nephew, yet a youth: He Counsel'd him to take heart, and not to be afraid of *Vitellius*, whose Mother, Wife, and Children he had preserved with the same care as if they had been his own: And to remember that *Cæsar* deferr'd his Adoption, contrary to his own mind, to save him from sharing in his misfortunes, who being victorious, should have shar'd with him in the Empire. But this said he, *My Child, I leave thee for my last advice, neither to forget altogether, nor too much to remember that thou hadst an Emperor for thine Uncle.*

A little after this he heard a great Tumult and noise at the Door, for the Souldiers

diers threaten'd the death of some Senators that were going away, if they should offer to depart and leave the Emperour. Therefore out of a fear of their Lives, he came out again, tho' in very different manner, not with mildness and entreaty as before, But with a stern and angry Countenance looking upon the guard, and especially the busie fellows, he made them leave the place and sink away.

Being a thirst towards Night he drank a little water; and taking up two daggers, when he had tried their edges a great while, he gave back one, and put the other into his sleeve. After which he call'd for his Dome-sticks, very frankly distributing to them his treasure; not alike indeed to all, nor as one profuse of what was anothers, but carefully in proportion to every ones desert; who being gone, he slept the rest of the night so soundly that the Bed-Chamber men heard him snore. At Day Light, calling for his Freed-man whom he had entrusted with the care of the Senators. He sent him to enquire what was become of them, and understanding that they were gone away very well satisfied; Go thy ways too (said he) and shew thy self to the Souldiers unless thou hast a mind to be torn in pieces by them for having a hand in my death. When the man was gone forth, he set the dagger

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right to his Breast with both his hands and falling upon it, felt only so much pain as to fetch one groan, which gave notice to his attendants. At the out cry of the Servants thereupon, presently the City, yea the whole Camp, were in Tears: straight there was a noise of Souldiers at the door, lamenting and passionately reproaching themselves, that they had not kept their Emperour, and withheld him by force from destroying himself. Not a man of them left him to seek their safety, among the Enemies that were at hand, but having sumptuously habited his Corps, and dress'd up his Funeral Pile, the Souldiers in their Armour carried him forth with a sense of honour and happiness to have had a hand in performing that last Office. Amongst the rest, some kneel'd down to kiss the wound, some his hand, and some, that could not come near, to adore him. And some there were who having set Fire to the Pile slew themselves, not, as it was known, out of any Obligation of gratitude, for good Offices done to them by the deceased, nor out of fear of displeasure from the Conquerour. Indeed I never met with any Tyrant or Usurper so furiously possess'd with the Lust of Dominion, as these were with the love of Obedience to *Otho*, which perished not with himself, but was kept alive with an implacable hatred to *Vitellius*; as in better opportunity it may be discovered. When they had buried his

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his remains: they set up such a Monument, as Envy it self could not carp at, for the Magnificence either of its Work or Title. I myself saw it at *Brixillum*, an ordinary Tomb, with this Inscription; (being Translated,) *To the Memory of Marcus Otho.*

Otho died in the Thirty Seventh year of his Age, and third Month of his reign, leaving his death as much applauded, as his Life was censured. His Life was somewhat like to *Nero's*, but in their deaths could be no comparison.

When *Pollio* a Captain in the Guard, desired them presently to take the Oath to *Vitellius* the Souldiers would not endure him: But hearing some of the Senators to be still in Town, they neglected the rest for *Verginius Rufus*, to whom they made tender of the Empire, all of them together marching in Arms to his House, one while beseeching him, another pressing, and even commanding him to take the Rule, or at least to intercede for them. But as he thought it madness to accept that command in the distress, who refused it in the prosperity of their affairs; so being altogether unwilling to treat with the *Germans* who acted wholly against his mind, he slipped out privily by another door. The Souldiers hearing this took the Oath, and joyning themselves to *Cæcinnæ* gain'd their Pardon.

F I N I S.

The End of *Plutarch's Lives*